



THE  
ANNALS  
AND  
HISTORY  
OF  
*C. Cornelius Tacitus.*

Made English by several hands.

WITH THE  
POLITICAL REFLECTIONS  
AND  
HISTORICAL NOTES  
OF  
Monsieur AMELOT, *de la Houffay*;  
AND THE  
Learned Sir HENRY SAVILE.

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To the Right Honourable,  
*Basil Fielding*, alias *De Hapsburgh*,  
**Earl of DENBIGH**,  
**Viscount FIELDING**,  
Baron *Fielding* of *Newnham*,  
*Padox*, and *St. Lis*;  
**Earl of DESMOND**,  
In the Kingdom of IRELAND:

*This Volume of CORNELIUS TACITUS,*  
*is most Humbly Dedicated, by,*

My LORD,

Your Lordship's

Most Devoted Servant,

M. GILLYFLOWER.



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## Vol. II.

# THE ANNALS OF CORNELIUS TACITUS, IN THE Year of R O M E, 767. The Fourth Book.

## THE

**W**E enter now upon the Consulat of C. Asinius and C. Antistius, which was the Ninth Year of the Reign of Tiberius: Hitherto his Government was peaceful, and the Imperial House in flourishing state, (for he accounted the Death of Germanicus among his Prosperities.) But now, of a sudden, the Scene of Affairs began to shift, and all things to change Face, by the many Acts of Violence which he did, or permitted others to practise. The Source and Cause of these unhappy Disorders was *Albius Sejanus*, Captain of the

B

Pra-

Prætorian Bands, whose Favour with the Emperor we before observ'd. But here let us take a view of his Origin Character, and those wicked Practises by which he advanced himself to such an exorbitant Power. This Man was born in the *Volsinii*; his Father was *Sejus Strabo*, a Roman Knight: In his younger days he follow'd the Fortune of *Gaius Caesar*, Grandson to *Augustus*, where he lay under the infamous Suspicion of prostituting his Body, for Gain, to *Apicius*, a wealthy famous Debauchee. After, by divers Artifices, he so far insinuated himself into the Soul of *Tiberius*, that this wary reserved Prince, impenetrable to all besides, open'd the Secrets of his Breast, and confided in him alone: (1) Which strange Accident was not so much to be esteem'd the Effects of his Industry and Conduct, since he was often beaten at his own Weapons, as a certain Permission of Heaven, justly incens'd against the Roman Empire, to which this Man's Rise and Ruin were alike fatal. He had a Body indefatigable, a daring Spirit, dexterous in dissembling his own Faults, and calumniating others (2.) haughty and fawning at the same time; full of Modesty, and reserv'd in appearance, inwardly insatiably ambitious of Dominion, to gain which, sometimes he would be profuse and liberal, at other times vigilant and industrious. Virtues are as dangerous as Vices, when they meet with a turbulent Spirit, aspiring to Empire<sup>a</sup>.

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1.) Princes, says *Antonio Perez*, ought never to confine their Favour to one Person; they ought to represent the publick Temples, which have divers Entries, or rather to imitate God himself, with whom there are many Intercessors. Those Princes which do not take this way, instead of Monarchs, become Vassals to their own Subjects. In his *Apophthegms*.  
(2.) Jealous Princes, as *Philip de Commines* tells us, all of them are especially

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>a</sup> This Character is censur'd by Father *Rapin*, in the 20th Article of his *Instructions for reading of History*: Every Picture (says he) ought to resemble the

He made his Charge more considerable, which before was small, by assembling the several Companies of Guards, which were dispersed in several Quarters of the City, by which means they were ready at once to receive and execute his Commands; and, upon consideration of their Power and Number, to create Courage in them, and strike a Terror into others (3).  
The

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

ally the most wise; and those who have the greatest number of Enemies, love Reports, Detraction, and Calumnies, because they would be ignorant of nothing. The Cardinal *of Austria* always heard more favourably who discovered to him the Vices of his Court, than those who magnified their Virtues. Because (says he) the first is like instead of Spies, and obliges me to keep my self upon my Guard; whereas the other serve only to Gate to let in Vanity, Partiality, Flattery, and hinder the Truth from coming pure and undisturbed. *Don Carlos* Colonius, in the 14th Book of the *War of Flanders*.  
(1.) Ministers, who would engage the Favour of their Prince, never want specious Reasons to impose on him. The Constable of *St. Pol*, who had brought into *France* the King of *England* with an Army, seeing a Truce of nine Years concluded between the two Kings, and fearing to be left at the Mercy of *Lewis XI.* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, who both bore a mortal Hatred to him, advised *Lewis* to allow the *English* a Town or two, to pass the Winter in, lest they going away discontented, might be prompted to return, and do more Mischief than before. *Commines*, chap. 8. Book 4. Here we may see how the subtle Minister covered his own private Interest under the fair Pretext of serving his Master. When *Francis* Duke of *Guise*, and the Cardinal of *Lorraine* his Brother, advised *Henry II.* to engage in the Quarrel of *Pope Paul IV.* against *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, and to carry a War into the Kingdom of *Naples*; they plausibly told him, It was glorious in him, and indeed his bounden Duty, in Quality of Eldest Son of the Church, to take the Holy See into his Protection, which the King of *Spain* had a design to enslave. But they did not pretend to tell him, That they intended to renew their old Pretensions to the Kingdom of *Naples*, as descended in a Right Line from *Island of Anjou*, Heiress of that Royal House; nor, That the Cardinal had a design upon the Papacy, by favour of the Arms of *France*, employ'd in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and commanded by his Brother; for *Paul IV.* was then eighty two years of Age. *Cabrera*, Chap. 8. Book 4. of his History.

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

the Original, in which Tacitus is not exact, who follows more the Bent of his own Genius than the Imitation of Nature, ever endeavouring more to make a Fine Piece, than a True Copy, after the Life. Provided his Work pleases, he does not much concern himself, whether they resemble the Original, as in *Sejanus*, whom he makes much worse than he was, if we may believe  
B 2 Pater-

The Pretexes he made use of to cover his ambitious Designs, were, *The Debauchery of the Soldiers dispersed, and down, that at a distance from the Temptations of the Town they might better preserve the Discipline, and upon sudden Occasions be ready to assist each other in case of necessity.* As soon as the Camp was finish'd, he began to win the Hearts of the Soldiery, by his Familiarity and Careſſes, disposing of Centurions and Tribunes Offices at his pleasure. He had his Party too in the Senate, conferring Honours and Dignities on some, and giving the Government of Provinces to others of his Creatures. All which *Tiberius* not only acquiesced in, but applauded in all places, calling him his Assistant in the Empire, the Companion of his Cares, in all his publick Speeches to the Senate and the People, and suffering his Images to be rever'd (4) in all publick places, upon the Theaters, and at the Head of the Legions b.

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(4) A great Courtier tells us, That Princes sometimes please themselves in raising a Favourite, that so the World adoring them, may more themselves, who are the Authors of their Greatness, with less Reluctance. *Ant. Perez, in the 72d of his second Letters.* The Courtier which he speaks of, is doubtless the Prince *Ruy Gomez de Sylva*, who is the Compass by which he steers: And to answer, says he, in the same Letter your Question, *Whence it arises that the most part of Sovereign Prin-*

*ces suffer themselves to be absolutely governed by one Favourite?* I say, That it is the only Permission, that all those who know not themselves, and forget that they have a God above them, another King, another Master, and oblige their Subjects to pay that Adoration to a Statue of Metal, like that of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which is only due to their Person, should adore the same Statue themselves, is a just Punishment of their Pride and Folly.

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

*Paterculus, who commends him very much.* Which is as much as to say, The good Father set more Value on the Authority of *Paterculus*, the greatest Flatterer in the World, as he himself allows him to be, than on that of *Tacitus*, who universally passes for a grave and sincere Historian. I could wish, for his Honour, he had made a more judicious Reflection, and had said that of those Pieces which come from the Hand of *Maimbourg* and *Favrilles*, what he has said here of those of this excellent Author.

At the Head of the Legions were certain void Spaces call'd, the *Principia*

II. But the flourishing State in which the Imperial House at this juncture was, by a Son in flower of his Age, Grandsons well grown, was a great Obstacle to his ambitious Designs; wherefore he conspires the Ruin of these Princes; and since it was dangerous to attack them openly, and all at one time, resolv'd to take them off severally, in a more secret and clandestine manner, and to begin with *Drusus*, from whom he had lately receiv'd a publick Affront: For this Prince, who was of a choleric Temper, and Heir-apparent of the Empire, could not endure another to Rival him; and upon a certain Contest which happen'd between them (1), had struck him (2) a Box on the Ear d, as the other had put himself into a Posture of Defence. After some Debates with himself about the Means to execute his wicked

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) It is very rare to find Ministers who are the Confidants of their Masters, and have the Management of Affairs in their Hands, have Moderation or Prudence enough to avoid occasion of entering into Dispute or Controversy with the Son of his Master. The Son cannot endure a Rival, looking on himself as the future Master, nor the Minister a Superior, since he finds himself to have the possession of that Authority, which the other only hopes for the Reversion: The one is his Rank or Degree, the other in the actual

possession of the Power. The People, who generally side more with him that is to govern, than he that does, are for the Son; but the Father, by a just Counterpoise of the other. Thus it is almost impossible they should ever agree.

(2) Nothing is more unbecoming a Prince than to strike; besides that, it is an Action which does not comport with his Majesty, and in some sort debases him to an Equality with his Subject; it makes him appear cruel and passionate. *Don Carlos* Prince of Spain, was not regretted by

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

*Legionum*, in which the Eagles were planted; so that it was to ascribe something divine to the Images of *Sejanus*, to place them amidst the Eagles; which *Tacitus*, in another place, styles, *Propria Legionum Numina*, Ann. 2.

*Drusus* was full thirty six years of Age.

Amongst the Romans, the Box on the Ear was the most outrageous Affront that could be given to a Freeman, because it was the ordinary Punishment of Slaves. The *Mamufissian* itself, by which the Slaves received their Liberty, is so call'd, because it was done by a Box on the Ear, to denote, that it was the last which they should receive.

wicked Design, he could find none more ready than to corrupt *Livia*, Wife to the Prince. This young Princess was Sister to *Germanicus*, and from a very indifferent Woman in the beginning, was arrived with Age to an excellent Beauty. This Woman, with whom he was desperately in love, he had first debauched (3), and, after this criminal Endearment, seduced to consent to the Murder of her Husband (4), in hopes of being the Companion of his Bed and Throne after this execrable Act, (for what will that unhappy Sex refuse to do, when they once have abdicated all Principles of Honour and Virtue!) She, who had *Augustus*

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

by any Man in his Misfortune, nor after his death, because all Men dreaded to see upon the Throne, a Man who had twice or thrice beaten the Cardinal *Esperius*, who had drawn his Dagger to the Duke d'Alva, and kill'd him, if that Duke had not been too strong for him, who at every turn was buffeting and beating his domestick Servants. A certain Author informs us, That it was a Box on the Ear was the cause of the Treachery of *Carpobasso* to *Charles*, the last Duke of *Burgundy*, at the Siege of *Wancy*. One day *Henry* the third, kicking and beating the Grand Prior of *Champagne*, who had behaved himself with too much insolence in his presence, the Duke of *Espernon* took the liberty to tell the King, It was not becoming a great Prince like him, to lift up his Hand, to strike a Subject, whose rash Presumption he might punish in the way of Justice, which was in his Hand. *Journal of the Reign of Hen. III.*

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

\* In our days we have seen the same Change in the Person of the late Lady *Henrietta of England*, who from ugly as she was at nine or ten years of Age, became afterwards so fine a Woman, she seem'd made for the Admiration of Mankind.

† *Strabo*

*Augustus* for her Uncle, the present Emperor for her Father-in-law; she who had Children by the Heir of the Empire, did not stick to defile her Bed, to stain the Honour of her Family, by an infamous Adultery, and voluntarily quit a present and lawful Glory for criminal and uncertain Hopes. *Endemus*, her Physician and Favourite, was pitch'd on for a Confident, upon the account of his Profession, which gave him frequent occasions of visiting her in private, and *Sejanus*, to remove all Subject of Jealousie from his new Mistress, procured himself to be divorced from his Wife *Apicata*, by whom he had had three Children. But the Greatness of the Crime still created new Difficulties, expos'd them to various and great Hazards, and frequently caus'd them to alter their Measures.

III. In the mean while, *Drusus*, second Son of *Germanicus*, took the Manly Robe, and receiv'd from the Senate the same Honours which they had decreed to his elder Brother *Nero*. The Emperor compleated the Ceremony with an Harangue which he made, wherein he highly commended the Fatherly Affection which his Son had shewn to his two Nephews. For (however it be true, that Power and Concord are for the most part incompatible) *Drusus* was very favourable to the young Princes, or, at least, not much their Enemy. After this, the old Design of visiting the Provinces was again mention'd, with which he had often amus'd the Senate: The Pretences he made were, The great number of Veterans Soldiers in the Army; the necessity of new Levies to fill up the Companies; the few that came in voluntarily, and those for the most part indigent necessitous People, who had neither the Courage nor Modesty of the Roman Soldiers; and gave them a short account of the number of the Legions; and the several Provinces they were appointed to guard. All which I think necessary to repeat, to shew you the Plan of the Empire in those days, the Greatness of our Armies, the Confederate Princes, and

how much it is demolish'd in our days: Two Fleets, the one at *Ravenna*, the other at *Misene*, kept the two Seas of *Italy*. The Coast of *Gaul* was defended by the Gallies which *Augustus* had taken at the Battel of *Actium*, and sent into *Foro Julium*<sup>1</sup>, all very well man'd. But the principal Strength of the Empire lay upon the *Rhine*, to secure it from the Invasion of the *Germani*, and the Revolt of the *Gauls*, which consisted of eight Legions. Three more serv'd for the retaining *Spain* in its Obedience, lately conquer'd by *Augustus*. *Juba* held the Kingdom of *Mauritania* from the Courtesie of the *Roman* People. The rest of *Africk* was possess'd by two Legions, and *Egypt* by two more; and all that vast great Tract of Ground which extends from *Syria* the less, to the River *Euphrates*, and the *Euxine* Sea, was kept in Obedience by four Legions, assisted by the *Hiberians*, *Albanians*, and other Confederate Princes, protected by the Power of our Arms from the Insults of their Neighbouring States. *Rhoemetalces*, and the Sons of *Cotis* possess'd *Thrace*. Four other Legions were encamp'd at the Pass of the *Danube*, two in *Pannonia*, two in *Mesia*, two in *Dalmatia*, which, considering the situation of that Province, serv'd to sustain the former; and yet were near enough to come presently to the aid of *Italy*, in case of necessity. But *Rome* had for its proper Guard the three Cohorts of the City. Nine Companies of the Imperial Chards chosen out of *Umbria*, *Tuscan*, old *Latium*, and the ancient *Roman* Colonies. Besides these, the Auxiliary Troops of the Confederates, and their Fleets of Gallies dispos'd in the most commodious Ports over all the Provinces, equal'd our Forces; but since they often chang'd

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>1</sup> *Strabo* calls *Frejus*, or *Foro Julium*, the Marine Arsenal of *Augustus*. And *Pliny* tells us, it was from thence call'd *Colonia Classica*, (i. e.) the Naval Colony.

their Stations and Number, it would be difficult to give an exact account of them.

IV. I think it proper likewise in this place to present you with a Prospect of the Constitution of the Government in its other parts, since from this time *Tiberius* began to degenerate (1): In the first place, all publick Affairs and private Business of greatest consequence was transacted in the Senate, where all the Great Men of the Empire had liberty to deliver their sentiments; and if at any time any chanc'd to fall into Flattery, he was sure to reprehend him. (2) All Places were dispos'd of to Persons of noble Extraction, (3) or such who had done eminent Service in the Army, or distinguish'd themselves by their civil Abilities. It was visible the vacant Posts could not be filled

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) Most Princes behave themselves wisely in the beginning of their reign, because it concerns them much to gain the Love and Veneration of their People, to establish their Authority. But when their Power is established, they will not put themselves to the trouble of being constrain'd; they will themselves at liberty to follow their Humour and Inclination, and give ear to the violent Counsels of their Flatterers, and take care to keep that which they tell them they have no need of, the Affections and Good will of their Subjects. Upon this *Monsieur Villeroy* told *Henry III.* whom they suggest'd to be married to *Maximilian*, that a Prince who prefers the Love of his People, will in the end be more loved than fear'd, and by consequence more esteem'd than obey'd.

(2) A Prince can never better persuade his Council, that he would have them deliver their Minds freely, than by imposing Silence on those who digress from the matter in hand, to expatiate in Flattery, instead of

speaking to the purpose. *Piasceki* tells us, That *Stephen Battori*, King of *Poland*, was always at the pains to explain the Difficulties of all Causes brought in a Judicial way before him, to his Senators, who ordinarily assisted with them in the Determination of all Processes, when he found them wavering in their Opinions, either thro' Doubt or Complaisance, and after number'd over again the Voices, that their Opinions might agree. With the Laws, of which he had a perfect Knowledge. In the beginning of his Chronicle. The Rise of *Rodrigo Vasquez*, who was afterwards President of *Casile*, and one of the Executors of the Testament of *Philip II.* was owing to his sincere Reply to the Prince, who asking his Opinion in certain Affairs, the other told him, he thought it could not be done with a good Confidence.

(3) Politicians are divided in their Opinion as to the matter of Noble Birth: Some think it the Interest of a Prince to lower the Nobility of his Dominions, and, by consequence,

filled with Persons of greater (4) Merit. The Dignities of the *Consuls* and *Prætors* were still preserv'd, and all inferior Magistrates acted as in ancient Times. The Laws were duly executed in all things, except where the Imperial Prerogative was in question. The Excises, Taxes, and other publick Monies, was manag'd by Companies of *Roman* Knights (5). The private Revenue of the Prince, by Persons chosen for their Reputation and Integrity. The only thing to be

blam'd

### POLITICAL REMARKS.

exclude them from Administration of Affairs. Others again assert, Persons of Quality are more proper for Places of Trust than Men of a mean and low Extraction, because their Education is more noble and excellent. The Talkers of this Court (they are the Words of Cardinal d' *Osstr*, speaking of the Court of *Rome*;) make their Objections to the Administration and Government under the new Catholic King *Philip III.* who has received into his Council divers of the *Grandees* of *Spain*, and given them several Places of importance; whereas his Father endeavour'd to keep them under. But of these things every one judgeth according to his Humour and Fancy. Letter 166. See the first *Replique* of Chap. 49. Book 2. According to *Montfieur Richelieu*, a mean Birth seldom produces those Qualities which are requir'd in a great Officer of State; the Virtues of Persons of a good Rank have something more great and noble than are to be found in Men of a low Descent. See. 1. of Chap. 4. of his *Polit. Testament*.

(4) The Good Name of a Government wholly depends on the Great Ministers; and by consequence, the Prince, who has the principal Interest in it, ought to be cautious of disposing Places, but to Persons of Probity and sufficient Abilities. *John* the Second, King of *Portugal*, kept

two private Journals; in the one of which, he wrote the Names of those who had done him any eminent Service; and in the other, which was divided into as many Heads as he had Places of Trust and Dignities to bestow, he noted under the Title of each Place, all those he thought qualified for it, and when those Places became vacant, he consulted his Journal, and chose the fittest Men to supply them.

(5) The Publick Revenue is best manag'd by one Man than divers, he who has the Direction is able and faithful. The Cardinal d' *Perrier* of this Opinion, speaking of the Duke of *Sully*, who had the Superintendance of Affairs under *Henry IV.* and under the Regency of *Mary de Medici*; he tells us, that if *Montfieur de Sully* but once it would be impossible to manage the Revenues unless by a Council. But this, says he, will bring with it a thousand Inconveniencies by reason of the long Debates which are frequent in such Assemblies. He further tells us, that Duke had discharged the King's Debt of a hundred Millions, and brought twenty into his Coffers. *Baronius* and *in* our days we have seen how the Diligence of a Superintendent can go; and since the thing is fresh in our Memories, it would be unnecessary to repeat it here.

(6) In

blam'd, was, that most of those who were once retain'd, were continued in their Employment so long as they liv'd (6). The People were much press'd with Scarcity of Provisions, which yet was no fault in the Prince, who spar'd no Pains or Expence to supply the defect of the Products of the Earth (7), and the Losses of the Sea &c. He gave Order likewise, That the Provinces should not be charg'd with new Imposts (8), and the old ones exacted without Avarice or Violence. No Confiscation of Goods, or Corporal Punishments were practis'd. The Train of the Prince was modest (9), his Free-servants few, few Houses in

Italy,

### POLITICAL REMARKS.

(6) In the collecting and ordering the Revenues, there are no better Officers than those who have managed them a long time; for, setting aside that they are more able and sharp-sighted, and less subject to be corrupted by their Subaltern-officers, they are more disinterested: So that the best way for the Prince, is, to let them remain all their Lives in their employments.

(7) The Prince ought to be careful to procure Plenty of Provisions, for Hunger is the Mother of Sedition and Revolts.

(8) The People pay readily the old Taxes and other Duties; but new impositions are intolerable to them, especially if they are exacted with violence, which, according to *Tacitus*, exasperates them more than the tax itself. The increase of Taxes and Imposts, says *Stephan Balquier*, is the Diminution of the Subjects Goodwill to their Sovereigns. I would to, God all Princes were as well dispos'd of this as *Henry III.* King of *Castile*, who us'd to say, 'I

'am more afraid of the Ill-will of my People, than the Arms of my Enemies. *Mariana*, Chap. the 4th of Book 19. of his Hist. of *Spain*. A little House, which they call *The Guilliet*, because they had exacted on it a Duty upon Corn, was the occasion why the Inhabitants of *Ghent* mutiny'd against *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, the next day after he came into their City. *Commynes* tells us, the Emperor *Mahomet II.* repented upon his Death-bed of an Impost he had lately laid upon his Subjects: 'How much ought this, says he, to affect a Christian Prince, whose Authority is founded on Reason, and to hinder them from imposing any thing, without the Consent of his People.' At the end of his Sixth Book.

(9) 'One of the greatest Marks of Wisdom and Prudence that a Prince can give, says *Commynes*, is, to receive none into his House but such as are virtuous and civil; For, says he, he shall be sure to be judg'd of by those who are about his Person.

### HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

\* For the Corn which *Italy* brought from *Africk* and *Egypt* came by Sea.

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Italy, and all Differences arising between him and private Persons, decided in the ordinary Forms (10) of Law<sup>h</sup>.

## V. Tiberius.

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

'son. *Thomas de Sezrane*, who after was Pope *Nicholas V.*, being ask'd, What Man was *Eugenius IV.*? Judge you, says he, by those about him. *Garimberti*. Pope *Pius II* caus'd one of his Sergeants to be imprison'd, for interrupting a poor old Man, to whom he gave Audience. A Doge of *Venice* sent to the Gallies a Porter of *St. Mark's Palace*, who had often deny'd Entrance to a poor Greek Stranger, a Man so simple, that when a Noble *Venetian* told him, He must graze the Porter in the Fiss, he offer'd to do it, with Butter; which created so great a Fend, that it reach'd the Duke's Ear, and the poor Stranger had the Audience which he so long sought; and the Porter was discharg'd, as he most justly deserv'd. *Audencia de Principes*. Monsieur the Cardinal de *Richelieu* tells us, 'We must not expect that Prince, who either cannot or will not govern his private Family,

'should be capable of well governing the State. Chap. 7. of *Philos.* of his *Politick Testament*.

(10) A Prince, says *Tiberius*, ought not to use his absolute Power in things which may be done according to Law. This glorious Maxim was an Honour to him who practis'd it, in doing every thing in the ordinary Forms of Justice. *Gabrer* tells us *Philip II.* would never suffer any thing to be recommended to the Judges, from him, in the deciding of Causes in which himself was concern'd, saying, That the Pleasure of Princes is a tacite Violence. He adds, That a Councillor of the Chamber consulting him upon a matter of very great importance depending in the Court, after a long Audience, he dismiss'd him with these words, *Don't tell the Council from me, that in Matter of Doubt I would have the Sentence always go against me*. Chap. 10. of his History,

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

'*Le Paggiari* makes a judicious Reflection upon the Recapitulation of the eight first Years of the Reign of *Tiberius*: *Polib.* says he, that the who accuse *Tacitus* of instilling ill Principles into the Minds, would tell me how a more excellent Model can be set for Princes to govern their States, than is shew them in the Person of *Tiberius*, how a good Prince ought to behave to his Councils and Parliaments the liberty of declaring their Opinions, disposing of Dignities and Places of Trust according to Merit, preserving to all Magistrates their Rights and Privileges, the Authority of the Laws, putting the Administration of the Revenue into the hands of Men of known Honesty and Probity, who will use all their Industry to procure Plenty, assist the People in dear Years, to content himself with the ancient Impositions, and exact them without Avarice or Cruelty, to avoid Confiscations, to inflict no corporal Punishments, unless for great Faults, to keep his Family in good order, to entertain no Men of Violence, nor those mercenary Souls who expose to sale Admissions, Audiences, and the smallest Favours; in short, to proceed in the ordinary Forms of Justice, in all Cases where he is concern'd with private Persons. Observ. 440. This, I think, may serve as a sufficient Answer to him who

repres

*V. Tiberius* preserv'd these Virtues till the Death of his (1) Son; tho' he did not exercise them with all the Mildness that might be wish'd for, yet, in the main, all his Actions were founded on Justice: For *Sejanus*, in the Infancy of his Power, was willing to gain Credit with the People, by his Good Counsels (2), and dreaded the Resentment of *Drusus*, his profess'd Enemy (3), who would often complain, That his Father, during

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) When a Prince has a Son of an age to govern, he looks upon that Son not as a bare Spectator of his Actions, but a Competitor which may deprive him of his Crown, if the People should grow weary of his Government: Which Consideration makes him more reserv'd in the use of his Power, and with Reason too, he should make his Subjects desirous to change their Master.

(2) There are few principal Ministers of State but imitate *Sejanus*; their Beginnings are glorious, but

their Progress and End seldom answerable. When they enter upon the Ministry, they take the Mask of Modesty, to render the Memory of their Predecessor odious; but as soon as their Authority is establish'd, they make his Honour reparation by such Practices as make him regretted.

(3) We ordinarily hate those we have much offended. Hence *Drusus* must needs bear a violent hatred to *Sejanus*, to whom he had given a Box on the Ear.

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

*Tacitus* is a very partial Historian, one who conceals a villain's Heart, under the colour of a good Wit, who is every-where in the wrong as to true Merit, who acknowledges none but Ability, who poisons and gives an ill Turn to every thing. For the rest, what *Tacitus* says here of the good Government of *Tiberius*, is propos'd as a Model to *Henry IV.* in the 30th Letter of Cardinal d'Osat: 'I hope, says he, that as God has been graciously pleas'd to give Peace to His Majesty's Kingdom, he will likewise inspire him with Wisdom to preserve that Peace and Quiet which he has acquir'd; by his Prudence and Valour, and his Majesty continuing to do well in administering Justice to every one, and not suffer the more powerful and Daring to oppress the Weaker and more Modest, nor let his Officers, of whatever State or condition, abuse their Trust and Power, to the oppression of those who are under them, or pass through their Hands, a thing which exasperates the People, and sets them against the only the Magistrates, who are the Authors of these Disturbances and Oppressions; but the Prince, by whose Authority they are committed; and, that his Majesty may continue to dispose of all Places of Trust, Honours, and Dignities, to Men of Honesty, zealous for the Publick Good, that love his Person, and heartily wish the Propagation of his Posterity: That his Council may be fill'd with Men of Integrity; and, That he may remember always to be, as all good Kings ought, the Guardian, Prefer-

er,

ning his Life, had call'd another to the Empire: That he had made a Collegue of his Favourite (4): That the first Hopes of Empire are doubtful and uncertain; but when the Difficulties in the beginning are conquer'd, Ministers and a Party would not be wanting: That the Colonel of the Guards had a Camp set out for him, and the Soldiers surrender'd into his Hands: That his Statues were erected in Pompey's Theatre: That he would shortly be ally'd to the Imperial Family: That after all these Honours done him, we must be oblig'd to his Modesty, if he would keep himself in these Bounds. These were his ordinary and publick Discourses (5); but his most secret Sentiments were discover'd to his Rival by his perfidious Wife (6).

## VI. Where

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(4) The Complaints of *Drusus*, are such as Great Men every day make against Princes, who leave themselves to be govern'd entirely by their Ministers. It was an excellent Lesson given to *Philip III.*, when one sent him a Letter with this Superscription: *A Don Felipe tercero que agerá esta en Servicio del Señor Duque de Lerma. Nic. Verulamius in Tacit.* We may further observe, Chief Ministers are always hated by the Sons of their Master, especially when the Son is capable of reigning. We know how *Lewis XI.* whilst he was Dauphin, hated those of his Father, and how severely he persecuted them after his death. How ill the Count de *Carlois* us'd the Lords of *Crouy*, who were constrain'd to fly, without taking leave of the Duke of *Burgundy* his Father. Don *Carlos* Prince of *Spain* would have kill'd the Cardinal d'*Espinosa*, and the Duke d'*Alva*. The Arch-dukes *Maximilian*

and *Ferdinand* seiz'd on the Cardinal *Klesel*, Chief Minister to the Emperor *Matthias* their Brother, and sent him Prisoner to *Tirol*. *Gaston* Duke of *Orleans*, then Presumptive Heir of the Crown, would have done the same thing by the Cardinal de *Richelieu*. *Memoirs of Monsieur*.

(5) When the Children of a Prince fall out publicly with the Prime Minister of State, they confirm that Authority which they intended to ruin; for, instead of rendring him suspected, they make themselves due to the Prince, who is easily persuaded his Children would have the Tuition of him. Add to this the Method of Courtiers, who always adore the present Power, and more willingly sacrifice the Sons of the Prince to his Minister, than the Minister to the Son.

(6) That Prince is unhappy who has a lewd Wife, but much more he who

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

ver, and Father of his People, and of the Persons, Honours, and Estates of his Subjects.

A

VI. Wherefore *Sejanus* seeing himself press'd to accomplish his Design, chose a slow Poyson, which prevailing by degrees, might the better appear a natural Distemper, and gave it the Prince by *Lygdamus* the Eunuch; as was discover'd about eight Years after (1). *Tiberius*, during his Illness, shew'd no Concern or Disquiet of Mind, perhaps affecting to shew an Equality of Temper (2), and immediately after his Death presented himself to the Senate, where finding the Consuls, as a Mark of their Sorrow, sitting below in the ordinary Seats, he reminded them of their Place and Dignity (3), and fetching a deep Sigh, made an Harangue, to comfort the Company, all overwhelm'd with Fears and Grief: He told them, He was not ignorant some would blame him for appearing in Publick, at a Time when others cannot endure the Presence of their Friends, nor the Sight of the Light (4). That he would not condemn it as a Weakness in them; but, for his part, he sought more effe-

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

who is desperately in love with her, as *Drusus* was of *Livia*, as *Tacitus* reports, Chap. 36. of Book 8. of his *Annals*. For Confidence being inseparable from Love, an adulterous Woman who has that of her Husband, will always make ill use of it.

It is fatal to Princes to be ever those who know the Disorders of their own Families. *Lewis XI.* had Reason to say, He found every thing in the Father's House, except one thing, which was *Truth*. The late Prince being *incognito* at a Table with divers Gentlemen, who did not know him, learnt some News of those about him; which before he was a Stranger to. *Memoirs of the Minority of Lewis XIV.*

(2) Constancy suits well with a Prince, whether it proceeds from the Strength of his Mind or his Policy. *Tiberius* remember'd well what he had formerly said in an Edict to the

People, in which he lamented the Death of *Germanicus*, That Princes were mortal, but the Republick eternal.

(3) A Prince can do nothing more grateful to his Subjects, than upon certain occasions to shew he prizes the Dignity and Reputation of the State to the private Glory of his Children; as the Consuls represented the Majesty of the ancient Republick. *Tiberius*, who knew well enough how to counterfeit Modesty when the Time and Place were proper for it, judg'd wisely. It would become him not to suffer the Magistrates to degrade themselves by this Debatement.

(4) That which does fit well upon private Persons, does not always fit well upon Princes. Private Persons have leisure to abandon themselves to Grief, but not Princes, nor Ministers of State, whose Affairs ought

not



effectual Consolation in the Bosom of the Republick. And then, after having deplored his unhappy Condition, the extreme Age of the Empress, the tender Age of his Grandchildren, and his own declining Years, he commanded them to bring in the Children of Germanicus, as his only Comfort in his Misfortune. The Consuls going out, after having assur'd them by their Discourse, brought in the young Princes to the Emperor, who taking them by the hand, Gentlemen, (says he, addressing himself to the Senate) after the Death of Germanicus, I presented these Orphans to their Uncle, and tho' he had Children of his own, I commended them to him, to Educate with the same Care and Tenderness as the Fruit of his own Bowels, that hereafter they might be a Support to the Empire and Imperial Family. Now Drusus is dead, I address my self to you, and conjure you, in the Presence of the Immortal Gods and your dearest Country, not to forsake these young Princes, who have Augustus for their Great-Grandfather, and so many Great

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

not to suffer Interruption: For, as Pliny the younger says, besides the old Affairs, to dispatch which they are hardly sufficient, every Day produces new, which, like so many Chains or Connexions, extend the Work infinitely. Epist. 8. of Book 2. Seneca tells us, *Astivus Pollio*, after a certain hour, would not so much as read the Letters which were sent him, *Ne quid novae cure nasceretur, de tranqu. vite*, for fear he should carry to Bed with him some new Care, which might hinder his Sleep. How many in these days resemble him, who are in the greatest Poets! Don Carlos Colonna tells us, That *Alexander Farnese*, Duke of Parma, being Governor of the Low Countries, liv'd with such Exactitude and Application, that he often rose three or four times from Table, to dispatch Affairs which were not very urgent. A plain Evidence it was true as he said, He on-

ly eat to preserve Life. Book 5. of the Wars of Flanders. The Cardinal *Julius Antonius* of St. Severin, first Inquisitor, and Grand Penitentiary under the Pontifical of *Sixtus Quintus* and *Clement VIII.* never was seen to take a Walk, nor use any Recreation besides his Audiences, and the Functions of the two Places he executed; he held every day regularly a Congregation, and sometimes two. *Pagliari, Observ. 454. Philip II.* being grown infirm in the last Years of his Life, and by consequence unable to read all the Petitions and Memoirs presented to him, settled a Council of three Ministers, to consult about and dispatch all Affairs which he had a mind to decline; which, because they sat upon a Nights, to avoid being publicly observ'd, were call'd, *La Junta de noche*. *Herrera, Chap. 15. Book 4. of the Third Part of his General History.*

(1) When

Persons for their Ancestors: Receive them, and take them into your Protection; do your own and my Duty to them. Then turning to Nero and Drusus, My Children, says he, these are your Fathers; your Birth is so Illustrious, that yours and the Interest of the Republick are inseparable.

VII. These words were heard with abundance of Grief and Sorrow, which ended with their Vows and Prayers for the Prosperity of the Imperial Family; and if he had not gone further, he had left the Hearts of all fill'd with Compassion for his Misfortune, and Admiration of his Goodness: But falling into vain Repetitions, That he would restore the Empire to its Primitive Liberty, and put it into the Hands of the Consuls, or such Persons they should please to nominate; took away Belief from that which was most true and sincere. For the rest, the Senate decreed the same Honours to him which they had paid to Nero, his elder Brother, but with divers Additions, as the last Flattery is still the most ingenious. The Funeral Pomp was very noble, by reason of the multitude of Images carried in the Procession. There were *Aeneas* Author of the *Julian* Family, next the Kings of *Alba*, then *Romulus*, Founder of the City; and after these, the *Sabine Nobility*, *Attus Clausus*, and the other Ancestors of *Drusus*.

VIII. Thus the Death of *Drusus* is related by the greatest part and best of our Historians; but I must not forget a Rumor which was spread abroad then, (1) and made such Impression on the Minds of People; it is not yet forgot. They tell us, That after *Sejanus* had debauch'd

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1.) When Historians amuse themselves to relate the Rumors which are current amongst the People, there will be no difference between History and Romance: But altho' a Historian ought to study to say nothing but what is true, yet he has the liberty left to relate certain Things which have passed for such, by reason of

their great probability; provided, he add those Reflections which may discover their Vanity and Uncertainty, as *Tacitus* here does. And this is the more useful, since there are several Historians, who, as *Strada* tells us, affect to publish the most secret and mysterious Intrigues, and pass over those which are most notorious and common.

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1. When

bauch'd *Livia*, he gain'd over *Lygdus* to his Party, by abusing himself with him, who was belov'd by his Master for his Youth and Beauty, and one of his Principal Domesticks. They tell us further, That after the Conspirators had agreed upon Time and Place for the execution of their wicked Design, this Favourite, with an unparallel'd Impudence, took an occasion to suggest to *Tiberius*, That his Son had a Design to poison him; and, that he should take heed to himself the first time they should present him Drink at his House: And so the Poison which he had prepar'd for the Son was given to the Father, who giving it to the young Prince, drank it off with abundance of Gaiety, being ignorant of the Device; which augmented the Suspicion, as if he had done that out of Shame and Fear, and put on a good Face to conceal his Crime.

IX. But as this Rumor is uncertain, and has no other Foundation than the Credulity of the People, so it seems easie to be refuted: For what Father would be so imprudent, to poison his Son, upon a simple Report, without leaving him the Means to repent or justify himself? Is it credible, that *Tiberius*, so wary a Man, mature by long Experience, should quit that Coolness which was so natural to him, to precipitate himself to ruine his only Son, whom he had found in no Fault before? Would he not rather have put the Slave to the Torture, to discover the Author of so great a Crime? But the Hatred which the People bore to *Sejanus* and *Tiberius*, made them believe the most incredible Things of the Malice of the one, and the Affection of the other, to his Favourite (1). Add to this, those false

Rumors,

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) When a Prince is once become odious by Actions of Severity or Cruelty, or the violent proceeding of his Ministers, to whom he consigns the Management of Affairs, the World

never fails to make him Author of those Crimes which remain unpunish'd. *Marianna*, relating the tragical Death of *John de Brugia*, Duke of *Gandie*, Son of Pope *Alexander VI*, who

Rumors, which generally attend the Death of Great Men (2). For the rest, the Design and Contrivance of the Treason was discovered by *Apicata*, Wife of *Sejanus*, and confest upon Torture by *Eudemus* and *Lygdus*; and amongst all the Historians prejudiced against *Tiberius*, there is not one who has objected this as a Crime, tho' they have exaggerated other things with abundance of Violence. Thus I have related this false Rumor, by this Instance, to condemn the like in others, and teach those who shall read this Work, that they ought not to prefer Romantick Adventures to (3) Truth, related in their Genuine Simplicity.

X. *Tiber*

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

was assassinated one Night, returning from Supper with the Cardinal *De Valence's* Brother, so well known by the Name of *Cesar*, Duke *De Valentinois*, concludes with these Words: The Common Vogue of the People was, that this Murder was committed by the Cardinal *Don Cesar*, who was offended at the Preference given to his younger Brother, in regard of the *Duchy of Gandie*. Who can discover the Truth, or stop the Mouths of the Multitude? For my part, I rather think, the Hatred generally born to Pope *Alexander*, was the Cause, that in all things where he was concerned, they always spoke, and thought the worst. Chap. 15. of Book 26. of his Hist. of Spain: I think I can add another Reflection which quadrates to our purpose: It seldom happens, that a Prince of an Age ripe for Government dies, but the Pretenders to Policy ascribe his Death to his Father. Every one knows what has been said of *Don Carlos*, Prince of Spain, for the Particularities of his Death: For *Philip* the Second is more talk'd on for this, than any thing

else; and *Don Carlos* more known, than if he had reigned Thirty Years.

(2) As the Distempers of Princes are seldom known till their Funerals are finished, the People always take liberty to construe and interpret the Reasons of the Concealment, and are sure to take every thing in the worst Sense.

(3) They who write History, in this Age, says the Author of the History of the Divorce of *Henry* the VIII, are like those who compose Systems of Metaphysics; they build Conjectures on weak Ideas, and draw Consequences as just as the Facts they advance are true. Ages to come will have just Reason to complain and reproach us, if time do not destroy those Works, which ought never to have seen the Light: For although at present we laugh at Romantick Histories, and their Authors; yet a Hundred Years hence they will gain belief, says *Gracian* in the 4th, Crisis of the Second Part of his Criticon: So that Posterity will have the same Obligation to those who refute them solidly, as Persons poisoned, to those who give them an Antidote.

(1) If

#### HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

A necessary Hint to those who read with a little too much Precaution, the Histories, or rather the Historical Romances of a certain Modern Writer.

X. *Tiberius* made the Funeral Oration of his Son, in the *Rostra*, in the presence of the Senate and People (1), who secretly rejoiced to see the House of *Germanicus* revived, tho' outwardly they seem'd to lament their Misfortune. But the Indiscretion of *Agrippina*, the Mother, who could not hinder her Joy from appearing in her Face, soon finished the Ruine of that unhappy Family (2): For *Sejanus* seeing the Death of *Drusus* unpunish'd, and his Loss not regretted by the Publick, blown up and hardned by the Success of his Crimes (3), resolv'd to destroy the Children of *Germanicus*.

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) If it be always true, according to that old Remark, *Cura levis loquuntur, ingentes stupent*, in lesser Afflictions we speak our Sorrows, in greater we are dumb, we may think *Tiberius* a better Orator than a Father. *Suetonius* tells us, He did not shew much concern'd at the Death of his Son, left the Course of Affairs should have been interrupted. But that which fits well on private Persons, fits ill upon Princes, who owe all their Cares to the State.

(2) It is dangerous to shew a Joy when the Prince is in Affliction: He looks with an ill Eye upon those, who by the Death of his Children become his next Heirs; but with much more Reason, when those

Heirs rejoice at his Misfortune. *Commines* tells us, That *Charles* the VIII. would not for a long time speak to *Lewis*, Duke of Orleans, because that Duke seem'd to shew a Joy at the Death of the Dauphine, by which the Crown descended to him, *Chapin*, Book 8. of his *Memoirs*, but is more dangerous still to shew they hope to get the Government soon into their Hands, which was the Case of *Agrippina*.

(3) The Success of a great Crime makes those who committed it bold to engage in more desperate Undertakings. It often happens, that the first Crime succeeds well, because the fear of the Danger, to which the Actors are exposed, makes them

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

ter, who styles himself Historiographer of France: The Author of the *Pensees Diverses* makes a Reflection to this Purpose: Those Readers, says he, who observe a Historian always affecting to turn things to Admiration, suspect he is relating Stories invented at Pleasure, Paragr. 96. For the rest, how can we make this Article, where our Author instructs us so well in the Duty of a Historian, with the Judgment of one, who in a Magisterial Manner gives him this Character: That what he relates is not Natural; that he does not instruct as he ought; that he exaggerates too much, and mixes Poison in all he says; that he represents Men worse than they are; that he envenoms every thing, and gives it the worst turn; that he corrupts the Minds of those he only design'd to have dazzled: And, in short, it is more Policy than Truth which speaks through all his Writings.

nious, the next and undoubted Successors of the Empire. He could not hope to poison them all, being assur'd of the Fidelity of their Governours, and the impregnable Vertue of their Mother: Wherefore he set himself to represent her, as one of a Contumacious Temper, to revive the ancient Hatred of the Empress, and the Conscience of the young *Livia*, to sow Jealousies in the diffident Mind of *Tiberius*, and render her suspected, and apprehensive of her Ambition, founded on her illustrious Birth, and fruitful Issue. Amongst others, he made use of a cunning Rascal, *Julius Posthumus*, who had Access to the Empress, by the means of *Matilda Prisca*, one of her Favourites, whose Stallion he was; and *Sejanus* by this means sour'd the Mind of the Old Woman, jealous of her Greatness and Power, and made her irreconcilable to *Agrippina*: Nay, they made use of those about the Princess, to excite her Ambition, by their imprudent Discourse.

XI. *Tiberius*, without interrupting his ordinary Employment, by the Death of his Son, sought to divert himself with Business (1), in doing Justice to his Subjects,

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

Take all the Precautions and Measures that Cunning and Malice are capable of; but when once they have tried their Strength and Abilities in Villanies, Confidence, succeeding in the place of this Fear, makes those Designs appear easie to put in Practice, that are attended with invincible Difficulties.

(1) Princes have so many Affairs upon their Hands, they have not leisure for Sorrow or Sickness. It was saying worthy of the Mouth of the King that spake it, I mean that of *Henry III.* of Castile, who lying ill, told those who excused speaking of Affairs of State to him, for fear of incommoding him, that tho' the Person of *Henry* was ill, the King

was not *Audiencia de Principes*. See what we call Kings, Monsieur the Cardinal de Richelieu, tells us, That Health of Body is not absolutely necessary to those who are at the Helm of Government, and has no other Care than the Direction of Affairs, provided he has Presence of Mind enough to order what is fitting. I confess nevertheless, says he, I have often desired to be unconcerned in the Government of the State, since the Badness of my Health would not give me leave to give Access to all the World: but, after so many Years that I have served your Majesty in the most difficult Affairs, that can happen in a State, I can confirm, by Experience, what Reason teaches us, and all the World, it is

jects, and answering the Requests of his Confederates; and procur'd the Senate, by his Authority, to release, for three Years, the Tributes of the Cities of *Cibyra*, in *Asia*, and *Agyra*, in *Greece*, which were ruined by Earthquakes: And *Vibius Serenus*, Proconsul of the Ulterior *Spain*<sup>k</sup>, being convicted of using violent Means in his place, for his violent Temper and Carriage, was confined to the Isle of *Amorgos*; but *Cursus*, the Priest, and *Caius Gracchus*, accused of furnishing *Tacfarinas* with Provisions, were declared innocent; the last of which, being yet a Child, went with his Father, *Symphonius*, into the Isle of *Cercina*, where he was bred up amongst the banish'd Men, and illiterate People (2); where, after he was grown up, he got a small Livelihood by dealing in Commodities of no very great value, which he transported from *Africk* to *Sicily*; yet he, with difficulty, escaped the Calamity which attends greater Fortunes, and if *Alius Samia*, and *Lucius Apponius*, had not protected his Innocence, he had suffered for the unhappy Destiny of his Father, and the Splendour of an unfortunate Family (3).

## XII. This

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

the Head, and not the Arms, which governs and guides all States. Sect. 5. Chap. 8. Part I. of his Politic. Testament.

(2) Ill Fortune is like Fruit-trees, some of which will not bear Fruit through their own Fault, others by the Fault of the Gardiner, others of the Soil, and others of the Air. *Aphorisms* of *Antonio Perez*.

(3) Princes generally distrust the Children of those Men whom they have injur'd, or put to Death. *Philip II.* kept the Eldest Son of *Willi-*

am, Prince of Orange, Prisoner in Spain Thirty Years, under the specious Pretence of confirming him in the Catholick Religion, in which he was born; and perhaps he would have put him to death, if he had less apprehended the Resentment of his Brother Count *Maurice*, to whom Cardinal *D'Osset* hath much Reason to say, he was more beholding for his Liberty and Life it self, than to those who boasted to have given it him.

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>k</sup> The Ulterior *Spain* comprehended *Betica* and *Lusitania*, called at present *Andalusia* and *Portugal*.

! The

XII. This Year came several Deputies from the Cities of *Greece*. The *Samians* desir'd a Confirmation of their *Asylum*, in the Temple of *Juno*; and those of *Co*, the same Privilege for that of *Esculapius*. The first grounded their Request on a Decree of the *Amphyctions*, who were Governours of *Greece*, when it was Master of the Maritim Coasts of *Asia*, and built Towns there. The other, on the Service done to the Roman People, in saving our Citizens in their Temple, when *Mithridates* massacred them in all the Islands and Cities of the *Levant*. After divers Complaints made by the Prætors, to no purpose, of the Impudence of Buffoons and Comedians, at last the Emperour took Notice of them, and to oblige the Senate to suppress them, accused them of acting several things, tending to Sedition; of committing great Lewdness in private Houses (1); and particularly mentioned an old *Oscan* Farce<sup>l</sup>, which served for

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) Balls and Comedies are two Rocks, upon which most young Women make Shipwreck; at the Comedy they learn Lessons of Coquetry and Frailty, and at the Ball they find Opportunity to practise them: And in this Sense we must take the Answer of an Italian Cavalier; who, being asked what was to be done here, at a place where great Preparations were made for a publick Ball, replied, *That there was to be a great thing kept that Night, with open Doors*. *Pagliari*, *Obt.* 555th. *Salust* speaking of a certain Lady, by name, *Symphonia*, who was in the Conspiracy of *Caecilie*, tells us, *She danced*

better than became an honest Woman: *Saltare elegantius quam necesse est probare*. In this Age you will not find a Woman or Maid, but would rather be ignorant in every thing beside, than not learn to Dance: *Que instrumenta Luxurie sunt*, says *Salust*. In another place *Marguerite de Vangest*, who refused several Gentlemen, who made their Addresses to her for Marriage, found at a Ball, that an Inclination to Religion was not a sufficient Security against the Temptation of an amorous Prince. *Strada*, Book 1. of the First Decade of his History. *St. Cyprian* stops the Mouths of young Women, who think they may law-

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>l</sup> The *Osci* were a People of *Campania*, so called in Memory of *Oscus* their King, from whence the *Volsci* also deriv'd their Name: This People were very wild, and much taken with the Sight of certain Actors, Fellows who acted in manner of wanton Postures, and were more Impudent than the *Pæni*.

for the Diversion of the ordinary People; which was so full of nasty and obscene Postures, that it deserv'd the Censure of the Senate: Upon which a Decree was issued out to banish the Players out of Italy<sup>m</sup>.

XIII. This Year was further fatal to the Emperour, by the Death of one of the Sons of *Drusus*, and that of one of his dearest Friends, *Lucilius Longus*, the faithful Companion of his Good and Ill Fortune, and the only Senator who accompanied him in *Rhodes* in the time of his Retreat: Wherefore the Senate ordered a Publick Funeral (1), and his Statue to be erected in the *Forum* of *Augustus*, at the Publick Expence, tho' he was not of an Ancient Family: For all Affairs hitherto were transacted in the Senate; and *Lucilius Capito*, Procurator

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

lawfully go to those Diversions by answering their Excuses. You do not look upon any one wantonly, but they look immodestly on you; you do not defile your own Eyes, but you are defiled by the Criminal Pleasure, which you create in others: Chastity does not only lie in the Integrity of the Body, but likewise in the Modesty of Habits: If you dress your selves Fine, to attract the Eyes of

the young Men, and make them sigh after you, you nourish and foment your Lust; tho' perhaps you preserve the Purity of your Body, you cannot escape the Reproach of a wanton Mind: You can no longer be esteemed a Virgin, you that live so as to make all Men enamoured with you. *De Disciplina & Habitu Virginum.*

(1) Princes have so few real Servants, that it behoves them much to

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>m</sup> In the Year 1577, the Italian Farcers, called *li Gelosi*, opening their Theatre in *Paris*, at the *Hôtel de Bourbon*, there was such a Conflux of People, that the Four most Celebrated Preachers in the City, had not such a Number in their Congregations altogether. Sometime after the Parliament forbid them to Play any more; but such was the Corruption of those Times, that the Farcers, Buffoons, Whores, Panders, had all the Credit with the King, and obtain'd his Letters Patents, which they shewed to the Parliament: And although that Court sent them away with a Prohibition to obtain any more, or shew those Letters under Penalty of Ten Thousand Livres, to be paid to the Poor, they began to Play again by express Order of the King, who did not remember that Princes are the Guardians and natural Protectors of the publick Honesty. *Journal of the Reign of Henry the Third.*

2 The

tor for the Emperour in *Asia*, being accused by his Province of Ill-management, was constrain'd to come and make his publick Defence. *Tiberius* protesting, That he gave him no Commission, except to manage his Revenue, and command his Slaves<sup>n</sup>; and if he had usurped the Authority of a Prætor, and commanded the Soldiers, he had exceeded his Orders (2), and merited Punishment: So, upon Information taken, he was accordingly condemned. In the grateful Acknowledgment of this Piece of Justice, and that, the preceding

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

to give publick Marks of Honour, and Acknowledgment to the Memory of those who are so indeed, to gain others in their stead. The Cardinal d'Osset, speaking of the Death of the Cardinal de Toledo, tells us, The Pope, which is a thing not to be parallel'd in our Times, went to him in Person to give him his Blessing, Convert with him above half an Hour, comforting him, and bemoaning him tenderly, and then taking his leave, kiss his Face, and after his Death made him a publick Funeral. *Letter 72.*

(2) Kings, says *Antonio Perez*, ought to have a special Regard to Officers of Justice, and their Revenues, lest they Exercise a Power they have no Right to. It is a Reflection of *Tacitus*, speaking of *Titus Vinus*, a principal Minister under *Galba*, that it had been for the good of the Empire, to have had him Emperour, who would have less plundered the Roman People, than in his private Estate, whilst he look'd on them as the Subjects of another. *Hist. 1.*

(3) Beauty

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>n</sup> The Procurators of the Emperour had no other Jurisdiction, than that of defending the Interests of the *Exchequer*, and raising in the Provinces, the Tributes due to the Prince, whose Patrimony they managed: *Ius autem Gladii non habebant.* They had no Power to condemn to Death, unless the Emperour had given it to them, by an express Commission, which gave them the Power of a President, as *Ulpian* says, *Nec aliter procuratori Caesaris hæc cognitio (id est, de criminibus) injungitur quam Præfidi partibus in Provincia fungatur. Lib. 9. de Offic. Proconsulis in Collat. Leg. Moñica cum lege Rom. tit. 14. de Plagiariis.* From whence we may conclude, that *Pontius Pilate*, who, according to *Tacitus*, *Annal. 15.* was Procurator of *Tiberius* in *Judea*, acted as President, when he told *Jesus Christ*, *Nescis, quia præstatem habeo crucifigere te & potestatem habeo dimittere te?* *Joan 19.* And this Title is given him in *Matthew 27. Tradiderunt Pontio Pilato Præfidi*; not that he was so in reality, for *Judea* depended on the Government of *Syria*; but because *Tiberius* had given him the *Ius Gladii*, to oblige those Jews to submit, who refus'd to pay his Tributes.

2 Con.

ding Year, against *Silanus*, the People decreed a Temple to *Tiberius*, *Livia*, and the Senate; who, accepting it, were thanked in a publick Harangue by *Nero*, the Eldest Son of *Germanicus*. Which was received with the greater Applause by the People, who seem'd to see and hear *Germanicus*, whose Memory was fresh amongst them: For this young Prince had a marvellous Modesty, and something Great in his Air and Deportment (3), and the known Hatred which *Sejanus* bore to him, increased their Affection to him whom they fear'd to lose (4).

XIV. Some time after *Tiberius* propos'd to elect a Priest of *Jupiter*, in the place of *Sextus Maluginensis*, deceased, and to make some Alterations in that matter: He alledged, *It had been an Ancient Custom, to name Three Persons of Patrician Birth, whose Parents in their Marriage had observed the Ceremony of Confarreation*; That it could not be done at present, because this Ceremony was dif-

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(3) Beauty and Modesty render a Woman agreeable to all the World; what effect then ought they to have in a Prince? *Julia*, Daughter of *Augustus*, told one that commended the Modesty of her Father, That he forgot he was a Prince; but the Contempt of a Strumpet is indeed an

Encomium on that Virtue.

(4) There is nothing, says *Pliny* the Younger, which excites or increases Love more than the Fear of being deprived of those we Love. *Nihil æque amorem incitat & accendit, quam carendi metus*. Epist. 19. Lib. 95.

(1) The

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

Confarreation was a Matrimonial Ceremony, Instituted by *Numa*, and was performed with a Cake of Bread, in the Presence of the Great Pontiff, and the Priest of *Jupiter*, by which the Married People pretended to make their Union indissoluble; but this did not hinder them from breaking it sometimes, which was called *Disfarreation*. The Priest of *Jupiter* could not Marry, but by *Confarreation*; and none were qualified for that Charge, whose Parents were not Married in that Manner; and it was further required, that the Married Couple should have their Father and Mother alive at the time. *Qui parentes adhuc vivos habuerunt, eosque præterea conforreationis viros, bonis animis causa; conforreatos, propter auctoritatem sacrorum, says Peter Pitbon, ad Tit. 16. Collat. Legis Moisaica cum Romana.*

These

disused, either through the Difficulty of performing it; or rather, the general Irreligion of the Age; or lastly, the Privileges which such Priests, and their Wives so espoused, had, of being exempted from the Authority of their Parents, by Virtue of their Dignity: That there was a necessity of abating something (1), in imitation of *Augustus*, who had in many Things dispensed with the ancient Severity, and accommodated Things to the Age he lived in (2); Upon Debate, it

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) The too great Rigour in Ecclesiastick and Monastick Discipline, has its Inconveniences and Mischiefs, as well as the too great Relaxation. I remember, says *Chancellor de Silvery*, I have heard *Pope Clement VIII.* say, It would be better to moderate a little, the too great Rigour of the Bull of *St. Francis*, and to make all his Children march under the same Banner: It is not the Honour of the

Church, that in one and the same Order some should be strict and others not: The General of the Order has talk'd with me upon that Subject; and has confess'd that Separations and Multiplicities have brought great Disorder and Scandal. In a Letter to the Commandant de *Sillery*, Ambassador at *Rome*, Tome. i. of *Mem. of Cardinal de Richelieu*.

(2) Laws ought to be accommoda-

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

These Ceremonies are remark'd by *Ulpian*, Tit. 9. *Instit. Farre, inquit, convenitur in Manum certis verbis & Testibus decem præsentibus & Solemnis sacrificio facto in quo panis quoque farreus adhibetur.* And *Servius* more particularly, *Mos fuit Flamini & Flaminica*, says he, *ut per Farreationem in vestibus convenirent sellas duas iugatas pelle ovili superinjecta poni ejus ovie, quæ Hostia fuisset, & ubi nubentes velatis capitibus in Conforreatione Flaminis & Flaminica residerent.*

Amongst the Romans all Women were under Guardianship, by that Law of the Twelve Tables, *Mulieres orbæ inuptæ in Fratre agnativo proximo vel in fratre suo*: That is, after they have lost their Father, they remain under the Guardianship of their Brother, or the nearest Relation; and are never free till Marriage, which is called *per Coemptionem*, because the Husband seemed to purchase his Wife, and the Wife her Husband, to whom she deliver'd three *Aves* *sanguinem emendi causa*; to which Custom, that Verse of *Virgil* relates, *Georg. 1. Teque sibi Generum Testis erat: Which Servius explains thus, Quoniam coemptione facta Mulier in potestatem Viri cedit, atque ita sub conditionem liberæ Servitutis, which is the Sense of that Hemistich, of the Fourth of the *Æneid*, *Licet Phrygiæ servire Marito*. By this kind of Marriage the Wife became the Daughter of her Husband, and succeeded with her own Children. *Ille in Filia locum, Maritus in Patre veniebat: Servius ad Georg. 1.* It was ordered by *Tiberius*, that it should be thus in Women, married by *Conforreation*.*

: That

it was resolved, to make no Alteration (3); but a Law was made to make the Priestests of *Jupiter* subject to her Husband, in Matters of Religion, and in all Things else, to leave her the Priviledges (4) of her Sex: And the Son of *Maluginensis* was put in the place of his Father. And, to render the Office of the Priesthood more venerable, and excite them to a more diligent Observation of the Religious Ceremonies. *Cornelia* was honoured with a Present of Two thousand Great Sesterces, as she was made Superiour of the Vestal Virgins in the place of *Scantia*; and it was ordered for their greater Honour, the Empress should sit with that Religious Order, when she should come to the publick Theater.

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

ted to Times and Persons, as they are made to maintain Civil Society; and we must not stick to change them when they breed Confusion: That which is too hard, is very apt to break; We are subject to our Princes, and he to the Times. *Nos Principi servimus, ipse Temporibus.* *Pericles*, telling the *Spartan* Ambassadors, That according to the Laws of *Athen*, the Edicts once Published, and Graved upon the Tables of the Pillars were indelible. Those Ambassadors replied, *They did not desire they should raise the Edict, but turn the Tables*; signifying by this, that Princes may at least suspend the Execution of their own Ordinances, when they are too rigorous or unnecessary.

#### HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

- \* That is, that she no more than other Women could oblige her without the Authority of her Guardians: For whatever other Power her Husband, who was *Confarreatus* or *Coemptus* had, he could not enable her to make any Contracts, or become her Guardian. *Virum uxori mente capite curatorem dari non oportet.* *L. Virum F. De Curatoribus furioso datis.*
- \* Fifty Thousand Crowns.
- \* To shew that *Livia* had the Chastity of one of those Religious Virgins.

Crown he wears; which because, it is Round, has no End; nor those others, who by an Excess of an indiscreet Zeal, declare altogether for *Rome*. Words fit for a Cardinal, and a Minister of State, which those Men

ought to take notice of, who foment Differences betwixt those two Powers, by ascribing all to one or the other. *Señ. 9. Chap. 2. of the First Part of his Politic. Testament.*

## THE Year of ROME, 777.

XV. **U**nder the Consulate of *Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Visellius Varro*, the Pontiffs, and other Priests, making their Vows for the Preservation of the Emperor's Person, recommended *Nero* and *Drusus* to the same Gods; not so much out of Affection to the young Princes, as Flattery; whose Excess and Defect are equally dangerous (1) in a corrupt Age: For *Tiberius*, who ever envied the House of *Germanicus*, was impatient to see the raw Youths equalled with a Prince of his Age (2); wherefore, sending for the Pontiffs, demanded

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) It is equally dangerous to flatter too much, and not to flatter at all. Not to flatter at all, is such a Mark of Liberty and Independence, that those Princes who have, or would be thought to have the greatest Aversion to Flattery, cannot endure it; and to flatter always, is to give them occasion to think you divert your self with their Credulity, and that you have but a small Opinion of their Judgment.

(2) An old Man takes it ill to have a young Man made his Equal; with much more Reason then ought a Prince, Venerable for his Age and Experience, resent the Injury done him, in equalling his Subjects with

him. Sovereignty admits of no Companion, or dividing of Honours; it cannot let any one rise, unless it abases it self. If one King will not admit another to an equality, how can he admit a Subject? *Henry* the Second, King of *France*, wrote to the Senate of *Venice*, whom *Philip* the Second of *Spain* had required them to give his Ambassador the Precedence, that Princes very often took up Arms to defend their Title to, or recover a small Parcel of Land, but that he, to preserve his Right of Precedence, would undertake a Hundred Wars instead of one. *Cabrera, Chap. 14. of Book 6. of his History.*

(3) All



manded of them, Whether they had done this at the Intreaty or Menaces of *Agrippina*? Which they denying, he gave them a Reprimand; not with so much sharpness as he would have done, if they had not been some of the greatest Men of *Rome*, and his Kinsmen for the most part: But in the Speeches he made in the Senate, he forbid, *That any hereafter should puff up the vain Minds of Youths, with Honours too great for their Age and Merit* (3). For *Sejanus* was incessantly crying in his Ears, *That Rome was divided into two Factions, as in a Civil War; that some were so insolent to declare themselves of the Party of Agrippina; that these Disorders, unless timely prevented, would increase* (4); *that it was necessary*

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(3) All Stomachs, said *Philip* the Second, are not capable of digesting great Fortunes, and bad Meats do not engender worse Nourishment in the Body, than excessive Honours in the Minds of young Men. In the last Chapter of a History, Intituled, *Don Philippe* is prudent. The same Reasons which obliges us to be moderate in bestowing our Honours on Women, likewise oblige us to be sparing in giving them, and forcing those to wait for them, who have not had time to merit them. *Cabrera* tells us, That *Philip* the Second made a difficulty to consent, that *Antonio Perez* should succeed his Father, in the Place of Secretary of State, because he was too young: *Chap. 7. Book 7.* He tells us likewise, That he disposed of Bishopricks according to Age, still giving the best to the most Ancient, and the rest to the Younger, keeping them in hopes of the higher Dignities; by which means he encouraged them to do their Duty in their Churches, and had himself opportunity to know their Abilities: *Chap. 11. Book 11.* If young Doctors will not be admitted to give a Proof of their Skill up-

on Persons of Quality, or Consideration, we may easily conceive how dangerous it is to promote unexpected Men to the principal Charges of a Government, where these Beginners may make their first Essays in Cases which require a Master's piece: *Chap. 7. Part 2. of the Politick Testament.*

(4) As a very little corrupted Air, shut up in a Coffer, may infect a House; when opened, whence the Contagion will spread it self thro' a whole City; So the Intrigues of the Cabinet often fill the Courts of Princes with Animosities, which afterwards trouble the whole State. It is therefore, It is more important than it may at first seem, to stifle the first Sparks of those Divisions, when they first begin to appear, and prevent them by removing those who are busy in kindling them, especially if they are Women, who in these Cases are more dangerous than Men, the powerful Engagements of that Sex enabling them more effectually to disturb Cabinets, Courts and States, than the most subtle and industrious Malice of Men can effect: *Test. Politick; Part 2. Chap. 8.* Wit-

to take off one or two of the most Active and Busy, to put a stop to the growing Sedition (5).

XVI. Wherefore he attack'd *C. Silius*, and *Titius Sabinus*, whose Friendship to *Germanicus* was fatal to them both (1): He began with *Silius*, who had commanded a great Army for the space of Seven Years; had the Honour of Triumph in *Germany*, and appeased the *Gauls*, revolted under the Command of *Sacrovir*, the Greatness of whose Fall would strike a Terror into others (2). Some thought his Vanity help'd to ruine him,

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

ness *Madam de Sauve*, under the Reign of *Henry* the Third; the *Mareschal d'Ancre*, under the Regence of *Maria de Medicis*; the Duchess of *Chevreuse*, in the Reign of *Lewis* the Thirteenth; *Madam de Longueville*, and the Duchesses of *Chevreuse*, *Montbazou*, and *de Chastillon*, in the Minority of *Lewis* the Fourteenth.

(5) When the Princes of the Blood are at the Head of Factions and Parties, which are formed in the State, it behoves a Prince, who values his Safety to make Examples of them, since the Nobility commonly think they may do any thing under their Cover. The Chastising the Duke de Montmorency was a thing not to be omitted, without opening a Door to all sorts of Rebellions, very dangerous always, but more particularly at a time when the Her presumptive of the Crown made himself Head of those who forsook their Duty: *Test. Politick. Chap. 1.* The Cardinal d'Osar, speaking of the Conspiracy of the Count d'Auvergne, and the *Mareschal de Biran*, speaks his Sense in these Words, to Monsieur *Milroy*; *We must change our Astonishment into Severity, without having any Pity for those who have ruin'd themselves by endeavouring to ruin their King and Country: The*

King ought to let Justice take its course whatever Instances are made to the contrary; for it is high time, after he has shewed so much Mercy to his Enemies, to shew he is not cruel to his own Person, to his Kingdom and Children. Letter 307.

(1) There is nothing more dangerous at Court, than to make Profession of Friendship to those whom the Prince hates. Princes will have their Subjects enter into their Passions, and regard those who do not do so, as Persons who tacitly reproach them with their Injustice. The *Mareschal*, and the *Garde des Sceaux*, in the late King's Reign, were taken off for adhering steadily to the Queen his Mother. Monsieur de Chastre lost the Favour of the Queen Regent, Mother of *Lewis* the Fourteenth, and his Place of Colonel General of the *Swissers*, for continuing his Friendship with *Mont. de Beaufort*, and *Madam de Chevreuse* after she had deserted them. *Memoire de la Chastre.*

(2) If order be taken to chastise all those, who fail in any thing of their Duty and Obligations, very few will suffer by it; because, but very few will have the Courage to expose themselves to certain Ruine; and by the loss of very few, the rest will be secured, and Order be preserved: Witness the Punishment of the



him, that he had exasperated the Emperour by his frequent Boasting, *That he had kept his Legions to their Duty, when the rest were revolted*; that the Empire would never have been preserved, if his Legions had gone over with the rest (3). *Tiberius* could not endure Discourses so injurious to his Greatness and Fortune. All Benefits are pleasing, whilst the Receiver is in a Condition to make a suitable Return; but when once they exceed Recompence, Hatred and Ingratitude ever take place, instead of Friendship and Acknowledgment (4).

XVII. It

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

the *Maref. de Marillac*, and the Duke *de Montmorency*, which instantly reduc'd all the Great Men of the Kingdom to their Duty. *Test. Politick, Part 2. Chap. 9. Sect. 4.* Not to add, that the Severity of a Prince to one great Man has a greater Effect, than the Punishment of a Thousand lesser Ones. When a Prince cuts off one great Man's Head, all the World trembles both Great and Small, imagining they shall not be spared, if they are found faulty: But when they punish the Little ones, and let the Great ones escape, who are guilty of the same Fault, they become more daring and bold, imagining that they dare not proceed against them, and construing the Indulgence of the Prince, as the Effect of his Weakness, and their Power. I conclude therefore with *Augusto Perez*, that Princes ought in this to be like the Thunder, which for the most part discharges it self on the Mountains, and highest Buildings.

(3) That Subject who has saved the Crown to his Prince, can only boast of having done his Duty, otherwise he loses all the Merits of his Service, and becomes guilty of High-Treason, because he deprives his Sovereign of his Honour, which is to rob him of more than he could give, or preserve to him: Besides, these

great Boasters of past Services, have Rebellion in their Hearts, as well as these Reproaches in their Mouths. *William Prince of Orange*, Founder of the Republick of Holland, began his Work, by telling the *Flemings*, that the House of *Austria* had never Reigned in *Flanders*, if the Counts *de Nassau* had not won the Battle of *Guinegate*; that they were indebted to them for the Conquest of *Lombardy*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*; the Duchy of *Guelderland*, and divers other Victories; that the Count *Henry*, his Uncle by the Father's side, had put the Imperial Crown on the Head of *Charles the Fifth*, in effectually perswading the Electors to prefer him to *Francis the First*; that he descended from Kings and Emperors, and was not subject to *Philip the Second*; that he was possessor of a Sovereign Principality in *France*; that he had expended more than Five Hundred Thousand Crowns, in the Service of *Charles the Fifth*; and that his Estate was yet big enough to make his Son King of *Spain*. *Gabrath's Chap. 3. of Book 5. of his History* and *Aubery du Maurier, in the Extraordinary Apology of William Prince of Orange's Memoirs of Holland.*

(4) A Prince, says *Lewis the eleventh*, more naturally loves those who are obliged to him, than those

to

XVII. It was resolved then to fall on *Silius*, and his Wife, *Sofia Galla*, hated by *Tiberius*, for her great Familiarity with *Agrippina*; and *Sabinus* was deferred till another time. The Consul *Varro* became his Accuser, under pretence of some old Quarrels between their Families, sacrificing his Reputation to the Malice of *Sejanus*. *Silius* intreating, that they would let the Consulate of his Enemy expire before his Tryal (1); the Emperour oppos'd the Motion, alledging, *It was the Right of Magistrates, to appoint the Days of Tryal to private Men; that they ought to be cautious, how they infringed the Authority of Consuls, whose Care and Vigilance was necessary for the Security, Peace, and Safety of the Commonwealth*: For it was a peculiar Art which he had, to disguise his Innovations and Injustice, under specious pretence of

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

to whom he is obliged himself; and if for the most part the greatest Services are paid with Ingratitude, it is because those who have done them, are arrogantly their good Fortune towards their Master, thinking he is bound to take any thing from them. *Commines Memoirs, Chap. the last, Book 3.* We must not, says *Gracian*, exact too great an Acknowledgment; for he who sees himself out of a Possibility of Return, will break off the Correspondence, and pass from Love to Hatred: When we become Insolent, we likewise become Enemies to our Creditors. Maxim 255. of his Manual Oracle. Thus that Courtier had very good Reason of his side, who hearing the Compliment of Thanks, which the Queen Mother made the Prince, when he brought back the Cardinal *Mazarin* to Paris, told the Prince, He trembled for him, to think of the Greatness of his Service, and was afraid lest that Compliment of the Queen should one

day pass for a Reproach. Which proved Prophetic. *Memoirs ascribed to Monsieur le Duc de Rochefoucault.* The greater a Man who has done any extraordinary Service, is by his Birth and Fortune, the more he is hated by his Prince, because his Resentment is the more to be feared in case he be discontented; for this Reason *Philip the Second* could never love the Duke *d'Alva*, but ever took Pleasure in Preferring the Prince of *Eboli* to him. Don *John Antonio de Vera* relates a singular Thing of *Henry VIII. of England*, that he would not have put the Chancellor *Moor* to Death, but at the Instigation of others; and with Regret, considering the great Services that Great Man had done him: For as our Author says, *Gratitude was the Virtue which he retained longest. Epitome of the Life of Charles the Fifth.*

(1) Very light Faults appear great where the Judges are interested, in Condemning the Delinquents.

D

(2) A

of observing the ancient Forms <sup>a</sup>. Thus, with extream Rigour, as if they had proceeded according to Law, under the ancient Republick, and that *Varro* had been one of the Primitive Consuls, and not a Slave of *Sejanus*, the Senate was assembled to judge the Criminal; who made it appear, as well by Silence, as Words, whose Displeasure he labour'd under. The Matters alledged, were, *That he had kept Intelligence with the Enemy; that he had conceal'd their intended Revolt; that he had stain'd his Victory by his Avarice; and, that the insolent Behaviour of his Wife was intolerable.* They did not long insist on the lesser Crime of Bribery; all Pains was taken to prove the Treasons; which he seeing, was resolved to prevent his certain Condemnation (2), by a voluntary Death.

XVIII. Nevertheless, they proceeded to confiscate his Goods, taking an exact Account of what fell to the Treasury; not to restore the Soldiers that Money which they did not demand; but scorn'd to imitate the Liberality of *Augustus*, who had always abstained from seizing the Estate, when the Person condemned had Children <sup>b</sup>; and this was the first Enterprize against

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(2) A Subject who has his Prince, a Party against him, had need find abundance of Equity in his Judges to escape being Condemned. Justice is a dangerous Thing (says *Antonio Perez*) when an Arbitrary Will and Pleasure gives Sentence. That Man had Reason on his side, who said, He would have Angels for Judges if he had Right of his side, and Men if he had wrong. In his *Apologies* after his Relations.

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>a</sup> This agrees with the Character he gives him of *Novi Juris reprobator*. Tacit. Ann. 2.

<sup>b</sup> This is the Sense, which the Learned *Ryck* put upon the Words, *Liberalitas Augusti avulsa*, which all other Translators have rendered otherwise, some in one manner, and some in another: *Hic locus*, says he, non exercuit Interpretes. Nonnulli corruptum eum pronunciant; alii explicant ereptum Silio, quicquid Augusti liberalitate unquam accepisset. Fatentur tamen

the Estates of Persons condemned. *Sofia* was banished by the Advice of *Asinius Gallus*, who would have had her Estate confiscated, leaving some part to the Children: But *Lepidus* caused it to be preserved to the Family, only allowing a Fourth Part to the Informer, as the Rigour of the Laws require. I find that *Lepidus* was a wise and moderate Man, considering the Corruption of the Times he lived in (1), one who always remitted something of the rigorous Counsels of the servile Courtiers, and preserved his Moderation, without losing his Credit, and the Favour of his Prince: Which makes me doubt, whether the Affection of Princes to some, and their Aversion to others, are the Effects of Chance and Destiny (2); Or, whether Human Prudence have

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) A very evident Instance, that there may be Men in the Courts of the worst Princes secure against Flattery and Injustice; and that no Age is so depraved, but Virtue has its Friends. A wise Man can pick his way without coming too near the Precipice of Liberty, or the Abyss of Servitude: He preserves a Medium, and gives unto *Cesar* the Things which are *Cesar's*, and unto God the Things which are God's. Kings (says *Antonio Perez*) and those too who affect to appear pleased with

hearing free Speakers, love to be adored; and by Consequence, we must be upon the Guard, as to our manner of speaking.

(2) Change, or some unaccountable Thing commends a Man more to the Favour of his Prince, than true Merit. The Services which you do them (says the same *Perez*, who speaks by his own Experience) are like Tickets in a Lottery, where one comes up a Prize, you have a Thousand Blanks. In his *Second Letters*.

(3) I

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

tamen hi, which relates to the Paraphrase of *John Freinshemius*, Rem futuram duriorem, si de insigni aliqua Augusti in Silium collata liberalitate constaret, & cum de ea non constet, se quasi in tenebris micare. Quod nihil aliud, quam fateri se locum non intelligere. Mihi scilicet Auctoris consideranti, non videtur dubium, quin is dicere voluerit, Tiberium in hac Silii condemnatione remissum primum ab imitatione abstinentie & liberalitatis Augusti, qui non solum aliquid ex bonis illorum, qui damnati erant, capere, sibi liberos habentium, sed etiam Senatusconsulto omnia Bona Silii confiscata. Quod cum nunc ut exclamaret, Tacitus: Sed liberalitas Augusti avulsa. In *Animadv.* ad lib. iv. Annal.

<sup>a</sup> The Julian Law.

have a part and a share? And honourable Ways may be found, between the two Extremes, of a base Complaisance, and a direct Contradiction to their Wills (3). *Messalinus Cotta*, who was of a House no less Illustrious than *Lepidus*, but of a very different Temper, was of Opinion, a Law should be made by the Senate, to subject the Magistrates of the Provinces, to answer the Defaults of their Wives, without considering whether they were guilty or innocent<sup>d</sup>.

XIX. The next resolved on, was, *Calpurnius Piso*, a Man of a haughty Temper, and illustrious Descent: This Man had railed in the Senate, at the Insolence of the Informers; and threatened to leave Rome, without some course were taken to restrain them: And in Contempt of the Empress, and her Power, had brought her Favourite, *Urgulania*, to Justice, and taken her by force out of the Imperial Palace. *Tiberius*, at first, dissembled the Affront, and suffered it with an outward Complaisance; but revolving in his Mind the Injuries he had received, did not fail to remember this (1), tho' the first Sting was over. *Quintus Granius*, accused him of holding private Cabals, and speaking treasonable Words against the Imperial Dignity; that he kept Poison in his House,

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(3) I think (says *Paglinari*) that as several Thousands perished between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, before all their dangerous Shelves were discovered; which now we can pass securely enough, by the help of a good Pilot: So it happens in a Court, where we may easily split on the Rock of Disgrace, till we know the Humour and Weakness of a Prince; but if once we discover the Chara-

cter of his Mind, it is easie, with a little Prudence and Probity, to avoid the Precipice without flattering him, or forsaking the Court, *Obs.* 471.

(1) The more a Vindictive Prince retains, and moderates his Passion, the greater Flame he breaks out into: Also the Resentment of *Tiberius* against *Piso*, ought to be the greater, since he had confined and concealed it for a long time. *Antonio Peris* tells

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>d</sup> This is Practised at *Venice*.

<sup>e</sup> That

*Houfe*, and had come into the Senate with a Dagger under his Robes. Which last Particulars being look'd on as incredible (2), he was admitted to make his Defence, against abundance of other Things he was charged with, and died very opportunely before his Condemnation. The Affair of *Cassius Severus* was next propos'd, an excellent Orator, but a Man of mean Birth, and infamous Life, who had created himself such potent Enemies, that he was banished into the Isle of *Crete*, by a Decree, protested with an Oath<sup>e</sup>; where, continuing his former way of Living, he revived his old Hatred, and added new ones; was deprived of his Estate, interdicted Fire and Water, and confined, for the remaining part of his Life, to the small Island of *Seriph*, where there is nothing but Rocks and Stones.

XX. About this time it happened, that the *Prætor*, *Plautius Silvianus*, for some unknown Reasons, flung his Wife

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

*Plautius*, in a certain place, That Kings have their Passions like other Men; and that they do conceal them from appearing in publick, not so much out of Moderation, or an intent to pardon the Offenders, as out of Interest; that is, not to lose the Adoration of the People, which depends on their Esteem.

(2) It is sometimes for the Advantage of the Party accused, to have his Accusers violent against him; for the Greatness of the Charge often makes them doubt of the Truth of the Matters imputed to him, and the Exaggeration serves to give the Calumny the Lyce. The Process of *Roderigo Calderon*, Minister of

*Philip* the Third, King of Spain, lasted Two Years and a half, because his Enemies were obstinately bent on proving him guilty of Poisoning the Queen *Margaret*, and practising Magick; of which, notwithstanding, he could never be convicted; whereas, if they had contented themselves with proving him Guilty of the Murder of *Augustin d'Avila*, and *Francis Ibarra* for which he was Condemned to Death, they might have taken him off in Two Months. *Antonio Perez* tells us, very pertinently, That if Passion and Prudence went together (which seldom falls out), no one could resist their Violence.

(1) There,

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>e</sup> That is, each Senator call'd the Gods to witness, he acted according to Law, and for the Interest of the Commonwealth; an Oath never made, but in Affairs of the greatest Importance.

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Wife out at a Window, who died of the Fall; and being brought before the Emperour by *Lucius Apronius*, his Father-in-Law, answered, with an Air disturb'd, *That she had done it herself, whilst he was asleep, and that he was innocent of her Death.* The Emperour, without losing time, goes to the place, views the Chamber, where one might still see the Marks of Violence done to the Lady, and her Struggling: Which being reported to the Senate, Judges were appointed for the Tryal. In the mean time, *Urgulania*, Grand-mother to the Criminal, sent him a Poniard; which was interpreted, as from the Emperour, by reason of the great Familiarity of the Empress with *Urgulania*: So that after several Attempts, in vain, to kill himself, he caused his Veins to be cut. Some time after, *Numantina*, his former Wife, was accused, for disturbing his Brain with her Charms, and Magical Potions; but was acquitted.

XXI. This Year delivered the Roman People from their long War with *Tacfarinas*. The preceding Generals had contented themselves with the Honours of Triumph (1), without ever endeavouring the Ruin of the Enemy: No less than three Statues were erected at Rome, and crowned with Lawrels; and yet *Tacfarinas* ravaged *Africk*, aided by the *Moors*; who, disgusted at the Government of some of the King's Servants (2), during the Minority of *Ptolomy*, Son of *Juba*, pre-

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) There are a great many Men, who make an Attempt in their younger Days, to gain a Reputation of Valour, under the Covert of which they may pass the rest of their Lives without Infamy: These Men have no sooner obtained their Ends, but the Effects of their Valour cease, because Design is the Source of their Courage, not any natural Inclination, *Chap. 9. Part 2. of the Politick Testament, Sect. 4.*

(2) A Prince, who gives over the Management of Affairs to mean Persons, exposes himself to the Contempt, and by Consequence, to the Disobedience of his Subjects: It may be objected without doubt, that *Lewis* the Fourteenth, for the most part, made use of Men of mean Extraction; who notwithstanding, very far from being condemned by his People, was feared, and respected to such a Degree, that he is said to have excelled

preferred an honourable War, to a scandalous Slavery. Their Retreat, was, to the King of the *Garamanta*, who shared in Booty, without contributing to the War, except some few Troops, which Fame, by reason of the great distance, had extremely multiplied (3). All the Vagabonds, and Rascals, came in from all parts of the Provinces; which they more readily did, because the Emperour had recalled the Ninth Legion, after the Victory of *Blesus*; as if they had no more Enemies to engage (4); which *P. Dolabella*, Pro-Consul, for that Year,

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

excelled in that respect all the rest of our Kings; but I answer, It is not material what Persons a Prince makes use of, who like him, has always his Eye upon the Compass, and his Hand upon the Helm: For then, as *Phil. de Commines* has it, Ministers who serve him being simple Instruments, whether he moves at Pleasure, they must draw right, to use his Expression. It is indifferent to the Subjects, whether the Ministers be of low Stock, provided they be not oppressed, which is all they can desire: But when a Prince has not Understanding enough to govern himself, and his People; or is not of a Humour to take so much Pains, which often happens; it is necessary for him to take Persons not only of Experience and Probity, but such as are of a good Family too, to give the greater Reputation and Authority to his Government; and this is that, in which *Charles* the Eighth failed, who had neither the Understanding, nor Prudence of his Father. The undertaking the Expedition into *Italy*, says *Commines*, appeared to all wise and experienced Men very hazardous; and only he thought it good, and one *Stephen de Vers*, a Man of a mean Birth, who understood nothing of Martial Affairs, and

was *Seneschal de Beaucaire*, and President of the Accounts of *Paris*, having been *Valet de Chambre* to the King in his Infancy: This Man brought over the General of *Bricomet* to the Design, one concerned in the Exchequer, who after was Cardinal; and those two were the Promoters of that Undertaking, which most Men disliked; for besides, that they wanted all things necessary for such a Purpose, the King was very young, sickly, bent upon his Will, had but few wise Men about him, few good Commanders, and no ready Money; so that we must ascribe the Success of that Expedition to God immediately, not to the Ability of the Managers, which had but little Share in it. *In the Introduction to the Seventh Book of his Memoirs.*

(3) All News which comes from far, especially that of War, is exaggerated either by the People that receive it, or those that spread it abroad.

(4) The Services done by Men related to great Ministers of State are always magnified, and represented greater than they really are: This *Sejanus* informed *Tiberius*, That *Africk* was entirely pacified, because the Honour and Interest of his Uncle *Blesus* was concerned.

Year, did not dare to refuse (5), more dreading the Displeasure of his Master, than the uncertain Event of the War.

XXII. *Tacfarinas* took occasion to disperse a Rumor, That the Roman Empire was attack'd by divers Nations (1), and had deserted Africk by little and little; and, that the remaining Troops might easily be defeated, if all those who prefer'd Liberty to Slavery, would joyn with him. By this Device, he augmented his Troops, and laid Siege to *Tubuscum*: But *Dolabella* gathering all the Force he could, obliged them to raise the Siege, by the Terror of the Roman Name, and the Apprehension the *Numidians* have of our Infantry. After, he fortified the *Avenues*, and cut off the Heads of several of the principal of the *Musulans*, who had plotted a secret Rebellion. After, assisted by the *Moors*, under the Conduct of their King, *Ptolomy*, Son of *Juba*, and taught by the Experience of the former War, instead of attacking a scatter'd Vagabond Enemy, with the Gross of his Army, he divided his Forces into four Bodies, and gave the Command to the Tribunes, and the Commanders of the Legions; and the *Moors* had the Care of the Plunder: For himself, without being confined to any certain Post, he reserved the Command in general, to give necessary Orders, where the Case required.

## XXIII. A

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(5) A General of an Army, who immediately succeeds to a Kinsman of the Prime Minister of State, is always exposed to the Jealousie, and ill Offices of that Minister. Altho' the War flam'd higher than ever in *Africk*, yet *Sejanus* weaken'd *Dolabella*, who succeeded *Blesus*, to deprive that Governour of the Means of finishing it, and by consequence, shewing himself a greater General than

his Predecessor: Thus we see Publick Interest is very oft made a Sacrifice to Private.

(1) One of the most ordinary Means, employed by those who intend to head a Revolt against a powerful Prince, is to give out, That the Prince has a great many Potent Enemies to deal with, that his Affairs are in a low Condition, that there are a great many disaffected Persons in

XXIII. A little after, having Intelligence brought, that the *Numidians* distrusting their Forces, were incamped in the middle of the Woods, called *Anzea*, which themselves had set Fire to; he goes immediately, with his Horse, and Light Infantry, without discovering his Design to any one, and the Morrow before Break of Day, surprized the Barbarians as they were asleep, and their Horses stragling to and fro in the Pastures (1); the Roman Infantry marched close, and the Horse in the Order of Battel. On the other side, the Enemies, destitute of Arms, Order, or Counsel, were forced to yield, and suffer themselves to be cut in pieces, and taken like so many Sheep. The Soldiers, animated by the Memory of their great Fatigues (2), and long and vain Pursuit, glutted themselves with Blood and Vengeance: They cried, through the Ranks, that they must take care, not to let *Tacfarinas* escape, who was known to the Soldiers, by many Engagements; that the War would never have end, whilst he was alive (3): But he, seeing his Guards killed, his Son already a Prisoner, and the Romans pouring on him on every side, sprung into the midst of

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

in his Court, who only wait an opportunity to declare themselves, that his People are in a Consternation, that he accounts that Province lost which is once up in Arms, because his other Affairs press him most: lesser Princes use this Rhetorick when they make War with greater. Thus *Charles Emanuel* the First, to preserve himself in the Possession of the *Marquisat of Saluzzo*, which he had surpris'd in 1588. boasted, That he had driven the *French* beyond the Mountains; and that if *Henry* the Fourth would make War upon him, he would keep him in play for Forty Years, and cause the King of *Spain* to come in Person at the Head of all

the Spanish Forces into Italy. *Letters of Cardinal d'Orléans*, 173, 227, 235, and 239.

(1) In War there is nothing more dangerous than Surprize, where it often happens, that more is lost in one Moment, than is gain'd in a long and tedious War.

(2) The Conquerors usually take greatest Pleasure to exercise their Revenge on those Enemies, which have cost them the most Pains to subdue; as if this was a sort of Recompence for the Blood, Labour and Pains, which the Victory has cost them.

(3) When Rebels have a Commander of Valour and Experience, whatever

of the Darts, and by an honourable Death (4), which costs us dear, prevented a base Captivity. Thus was this War ended.

XXIV. *Tiberius*, at the Instance of *Sejanus*, refused *Dolabella* the Honours of Triumph, lest he should eclipse the Glory of *Blesus*; Uncle to his Favourite (1). But this Refusal, as it did not make *Blesus* look greater, increased the Glory of *Dolabella*, who with a lesser Army, had put an end to a tedious War (2), killed the

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whatever Advantage is gained against them, is in effect nothing, so long as their Head is at liberty, because he is always in a Condition to renew the War with the Assistance of the disaffected Party: For which Reason, the Cardinal de *Granvelle*, being informed, that the Duke d'*Alva* had Arrested the Heads of the *Gueux* in *Flanders*, Asked if he had seized the Silent Man? so he named the Prince of *Orange*; and the Courtier answering, No; he replied, Then he has done nothing, *Sirraad, Decad. 1. Lib. 6.*

(4) There are Men who would deserve an Immortal Memory, if they had done that, to support a good Cause, which they had for a bad one.

(1) We may see in this, a Spark of those Injustices, which Princes are guilty of, who suffer themselves to be guided by their Favourites; or those Favourites, who meet with a Prince who is mean spirited enough to espouse their Passions: See that which discourages Men of Bravery, and makes them both contempt and hate their Princes. *Cicero* tells us, That he who finishes a War is to be esteemed, the Man to whom the Publick is obliged, for the Success of their Arms, tho' others had a Hand in the Beginnings. *Qui reliquis hujus Belli oppressor, cum totius confectorem fore. Lib. 101. Epist.*

This shews us clearly the great Injustice, which *Tiberius* and his Minister did to *Dolabella*. A State, says Monsieur de *Richelieu*, is never in a worse Condition, than when the Inclinations of a Prince to some few, prevail over the Services of those who are most useful to the Publick. In this Case, neither the Esteem of a Sovereign, the Love-born to him, nor the Hopes of a Recompence excite to Virtue; on the contrary, Men stand indifferent to do either well or ill; and Envy, Jealousie and Spite make every one neglect their Duty, because no body has hopes to get any thing by performing it. When Princes are possesd with Passion, it is to no purpose to do well, because the Artifices of those, who are Masters of his Soul, can blacken the most upright Actions, and make the most signal Services pass for Crimes. *Test. Polit. Part 2. Chap. 7.*

(2) The greater the Ingratitude of a Prince is, the greater is the Glory of a Subject, who has done him any important Service; because it is the Humour of the World, to speak much more of a Service that remains unrewarded, than one that is already recompensed; when a Debt is once paid, we think no longer of it: Besides, that sometimes the Recompence received seeming greater than the Service done, the Comparison made between one, and the other,

the General of the Enemies, and taken divers illustrious Prisoners; and, which had seldom been seen before, brought the Embassadors of the *Garamantæ* in his Retinue, which those People sent to the Senate, to excuse their Fault, and give Satisfaction to the Roman People, whom they apprehended they had offended. The Services of *Ptolomy*, were acknowledged by an express Embassy, attended with a Truncheon of Ivory, and a Triumphal Robe; the ancient Presents of the Senate, which were carried by one of their own Body (3), with order to treat him, as a King, Friend, and Ally, of the Roman People (4).

XXV. Fortune, this Year, stifled the first Seeds of a Rebellion of Slaves, which was forming in *Italy*: For *Titus Curtius*, who had been a Soldier in the Guards, by secret Cabals at *Brundisium*, and other neighbouring places, and after by Placarts, which he fix'd publicly, animated the Slaves of the Country-towns, and most remote parts, to attempt the Recovery of their Liberty: When, just in the Nick, by the peculiar Favour of Heaven, three Galleys, employ'd in transporting the Merchandize, arrived in that Country. The Questor, *Curtius Lupus*, who, according to ancient Custom, had the Province of *Cales* allotted, ranged in Order of Battel, the Soldiers which were in the Vessels;

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other, causes the Diminution of Esteem.

(3) Princes judge of the Esteem made of their Friendship, by the Quality and Importance of the Embassadors sent to them: And we may observe by the way, that great Princes never send more than one Embassador, tho' those who are inferior to them, whereas the Lesser send several. In this Case, the King of the *Garamantæ* did.

(4) Great Princes always acquit

themselves at easie Rates of the Obligations they have to Lesser ones; a Title of Honour, a civil obliging Letter; the sending some Person of very high Quality, which serves instead of all other Recompence. Herefore the Republick of *Venice* purchased the Friendship of the Dukes of *Italy*, by conceding them the Title of Noble *Venetians*, and Sons of *St. Marc*. A Sonship, which has served them to acquire large Dominions.

(1) Tho'

Vessels; and by this means suppress the Conspiracy in its Infancy: So, that *Stains*, Tribune of a Cohort, who was sent in haste, by the Emperor, with a select Troop, brought to *Rome* the Head of the principal of the Faction, which had put the City in a great Consternation, considering the Multitude of Slaves which increased every Day, whilst the Number of Free Persons diminished.

XXVI. The same Year furnishes us with a dreadful Story, of a Father accused by his Son, both named *Vibius Serenus*: The Father was sent for out of his Exile, and brought into the Senate, in a mean rascally Habit, his Body loaded with Chains, his Countenance hideous and disfigured. His Son, on the other hand, brisk, and well drest, appeared to accuse him of Conspiring against the Emperor, and soliciting the *Gauls* to revolt; who, alone, in this Case, was both Informer and Witness. He further pretended, that the Money was furnished by *Cecilius Cornutus*, the Prætorian; who, vex'd to have engaged himself in this Affair, and despairing to escape Punishment of his Offence, had murdered himself. But the Father undaunted, shaking his Chains, and appealing to the Gods for Vengeance, made *Imprecations* against his Son; and, regretting the place of his Exile, to be far from a City where such enormous License was allowed. He protested also, That *Cornutus* was innocent, and was affrighted upon false Rumors; and it would easily appear, when the other Accomplices should be named; since it was not probable, that they should engage in so great a Design, without assistance.

XXVII. Upon this, the Accuser named *Cneius Lentulus*, and *Sejus Tuberus*, to the great Astonishment and Confusion of *Tiberius*; who saw the greatest Men of the City, and his special Friends, one of an extreme Age, the other rendered useless by his many Infirmities, accused of Corresponding with his Enemies, to ruine him, and subvert the Government. But their

Inno-

Innocence was soon cleared (1); and the Slaves put to Torture, to find out some further Proofs: But as they would confess nothing, Despair seized the Accuser; who frighted with the Horror of his Crime, and the Cries of the People, who talk'd of nothing but Precipices, and the Punishment of Parricides, he fled to *Ravenna*; whence he was fetched by the Command of *Tiberius*, and constrained to prosecute his Accusation: *Tiberius* not concealing the Hatred he bore to the Criminal, who, after the Death of *Libo*, had reproached him,

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) Tho' it be necessary when a Conspiracy is discovered, to proceed with all imaginable Severity, against those who are concerned in it; yet we must proceed with a great deal of Circumspection, against those, who all their Lives have been well affected towards their Prince, and whose Actions have never been Disloyal; it being not probable, that Persons of such a Character should all of a sudden turn Traytors, especially if their Fortunes depend on that of their Prince: Besides, that very little heed is to be given to the Evidence of a Man, who had been so humane, to accuse his own Father of Treason. The Cardinal d'Ossat speaking of the Imprisonment of two Priests, by the Order of the Bishop of *Toul*, one of which accused the other of proposing to him, to kill *Henry* the Fourth, blames the Proceeding; which, says he, Tends to this, That henceforth no one to whom another reveals his design of Killing the King, will dare to speak of it, for fear of being imprisoned, and punished in case he cannot make that appear, which another spake to him alone; whereas, in things of such Consequence, every one ought to be admitted to inform against another, not only without Fear, but with hope of Recompence; with a

Proviso, That we do not credit every light Hearsay, without good Information and Proof. *Letter 310.* But this Opinion is too favourable to Accusers, and would open a Gate to very great Abuses: For if all sorts of Persons were allow'd to accuse others freely, without fear of being punished if their Accusations should prove false; ill Men, who are innumerable, would take advantage of this, to ruine the Innocent, Rich, and Great, since they run no risque in the Thing; it could not so fall out, but some, however false, would appear true, and merit a Reward; and it does not one whit take off the Difficulty or Scruple, to say, provided no one be Condemned without good Information and Proof: Accusations of Treason are of that Nature, that however false they are in themselves, they do not fail to make Impression on the Minds of Princes; who according to *Tacitus* are naturally suspicious and fearful, [*promus ad formidinem ut sunt Ingenua Regum*, Hist. 4.] and to render them suspect, who inviolably adhere to them; so that honest Men are always in some sort or other a Sacrifice to Villains; for if they escape with Life, yet they lose the Esteem and Favour of their Prince, who thinks he deals favourably with them.



him, by Letters (2), with Ingratitude (3), in Terms more insolent, than the nice Ears of a Prince (4) could bear; which he resented eight Years after, saying, he had been guilty of divers Offences against the Government, tho' the Obstinacy of his Slaves had hindered the Discovery of the Truth.

XXVIII. After which, they proceeded to sentence the

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

them, whilst he does them a real Injury.

(2) Whatever is writ to a Prince, or Great Man, cannot be too often reviewed: It is with those that write, as with those who are to receive Audience, who examine themselves from Head to Foot by their Glafs, to see whether all their Dress be decent and modest.

(3) I believe there hardly ever was an Example of a Subject, that received a Recompence of the Services done to his Prince, by taking the Boldness to reproach him with them; but there are a Thousand Examples of those, that have lost their Fortunes and Life too, for taking so odious a Method. The Count de Morata, of the House of Luna, having in this manner reproached Philip the Third, King of Spain, only had for his Pains, the Mortification of being made Prisoner during that King's Life.

(4) If Words offend the Nice Ears of Princes, the Letters which are writ to them, without regard to their Dignity, must of Consequence offend them much more; for beside that, all which is written is premeditated, and by Consequence less excusable, than Words which escape thro' Inadvertence, or Heat of Passion; a Prince, who receives from his Subject insolent Letters, without any Respect, has Ground to think, that this Subject does not fear his Resentment, or does not desire to

repent, since he has made no Scruple to put into his Hands, the Proofs of his Contumacy and Rashness: Those Letters serve sooner or later to furnish Matter for proceeding against their Authors. *Commines* tells us, That *Lewis* the Eleventh, purchased two of a Secretary of England, for Sixty Marks of Silver, to use a convenient Time and Place, against the Lord d'Urfe, Grand Ecuyer of France, which he had writ to the King, and Great Chamberlain of England, while he was in the Service of the Duke of Britany. *Fabli Mirto*, Archbishop of Nazaret, who in the last Age, was thrice Nuncio in France, told us, That it is found but once in all the Scripture, that *Jesus Christ* writ, and that was in Dust too, that the first puff of Wind might blow all away; which shews, what Precaution we ought to use in our Writings. *Pagliari*, *Observ.* 383. *Lewis* the Eleventh commended and valued the Lord High Chamberlain of England, before all the Courtiers of that Crown; for making Answer, That he would never have it said, that a Lord High Chamberlain of England, had been a Pensioner of a King of France, nor his Acquittances found in his Chamber of Accounts. *Commines*, Chap. 2. Book 6. For the rest, if it be common, for Princes to hate those to whom they are much indebted; judge then how much more they will hate those, who reproach them with Ingratitude.

(1) When

the Offender (1); to take off the Odium, he hindered them from punishing him after the ancient manner (2); and when *Asinius Gallus* mov'd, to have him confin'd to the small Isles of *Gyara*, or *Donusus*, he rejected the Motion, saying, That neither of them had Water; and a Man ought not to have his Life given him, and be deprived of the Means to preserve it. So *Serenus* was remitted to *Amorgos*; and since *Cornutus* had killed himself, it was moved, That the Reward given by the Law, to the Informers, should be taken off; where the Person accused should kill himself before his Condemnation: And this had been carried by Voices; but the Emperour opposed it with more earnestness, and publicly made their Defence, alledging, That they would frustrate the Laws, that it would be the most effectual Means to ruine the Government, to discourage its Guardians. Thus Informers, who are the Pest of all Civil Societies, instead of being repress'd with Severities, were invited by Recompenses and Rewards (3).

#### XXIX. A-

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) When a Prince puts a Great Man into the Hands of Justice, all those, who know he drives at his Ruine, are presently ready to Sentence him to Death out of Compassion. *Mariana* gives us an Instance of this, in the Person of *Don Fernando de Cabrera*, who although he were Innocent, in the Opinion of all the World, and had done very important Services to *Don Pedro* the Fourth, King of Arragon, to whom he had been Governour, was nevertheless Condemned and Executed, without being Convicted of any thing, but speaking his Mind, with great Freedom and Liberty. *Hist. de Spain*, Book 17. Chap. 7.

(2) When a Great Man is condemn'd to Die, without sufficient Proof of the Matters alledg'd against

him; it is a Piece of Prudence in a Prince, to change the Pain of Death into some other, to avoid Hatred and Calumny, to which he would expose himself by a manifest Injustice: For this Reason, *Francis* the First, took care not to execute the Sentence of Death, pronounced against Admiral *Chabot*, who really was guilty of nothing so much, as his good Opinion of his own Innocency, and the Conscience of his Judges.

(3) A Prince, who gives Ear to Informers, endeavours to become the Butcher of his Subjects: For if Informers are to be regarded, that are the Scourges of a People, how must they look upon a Prince, who not contented to hear those, who come in of their own accord, proposes Recompences to those, who will follow such



XXIX. Amidst so many Subjects of Melancholy, a little Joy was mixt, upon occasion of Pardoning *Caius Cominius*, a Roman Knight, convicted of a Libel against the Emperour; who was pardoned (1) at the Intreaty of his Brother, who was a Senator. The most strange and wonderful Thing in the Life of this Prince, is, that knowing Virtue so well, he should follow Vice, and forsake Clemency, which is belov'd by all the World (2), for Cruelty, which every one abhors: For he did not sin out of Ignorance, as some do; and knew well enough how to distinguish those Things that are spoke out of Flattery, and those Things that proceed from a true Sense of Mind: And he that was naturally reserved, and backward to speak, upon other Occasions, always expressed himself with facility and ease, when he designed any thing well, or intended to pardon (3).

*Publius*

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

such abominable Trade? I find in the Life of *Charles* the Fifth, an Action which merits immortal Praise: This Prince having excepted out of a general Amnesty granted to the Towns of *Castille*, who had risen in Arms against him, a certain Number of Persons, of whom he design'd to make an Example, an Informer comes to him, to give him Notice of a Place, where a certain Cavalier of *Toledo* was concealed, who was one of that Number, expecting some mighty Reward for his Discovery: He heard him, but sent no Body to seize him; so that the Spy imagining he had forgot it, returned to renew his Intelligence, which did not succeed as he intended; for this great Prince himself only return'd this Answer, worthy of himself: You would do better, Master, to tell that Gentleman, I am Here, than to tell me where he is. *In the Epitome of Dom Juan Antonio de Vera.*

(1) Princes (says *Antonio Perez*) Imitate and Exercise the Power of

Creation when ever they raise Men out of the Dust, and from the Dungeon; and that of Redemption and Resurrection when they Pardon: They are like Images and Relicks, that become more famous, and gain a greater Veneration, by the Crutches a Lame Man leaves behind him, in Thanks for his Cure, than by all the Gifts and Offerings, which they bring in Crouds, who are in perfect Health. *In his Aphorisms.*

(2) When Princes consult their Consciences, they know better than those who praise them, whether they merit the Praises bestowed on them.

(3) When a Prince grants a Favour, he never fails to give it a Relish by his Words, because on these Occasions Words are more pleasing to the Person who receives it, than the Favour it self: On the contrary, when a Prince does an Action of Severity, he spares Words, nor to give occasion of Misinterpretation to those whom he disoblige.

(4) It

*Publius Suilius*, formerly Questor of *Germanicus*, being convicted of taking a Bribe, in an Affair in which he was Judge, was banish'd *Italy*; but *Tiberius* made them increase the Punishment, and confine him to an Island (4): Which Opinion he maintain'd with great Heat and Passion; protesting, *The Common-wealth was not safe, without this were done.* This Rigour was condemned then (5), but commended after, when it was seen by his Deportment, under *Caligula*, whose Favour he abus'd for a long time, what a base mercenary Fellow he was. *Firminus Catus* was condemned to the same Punishment, for having falsly accused his Sister of High-Treason: I have told you before, this Senator was the Cause of *Libo's* Death; which *Tiberius* now remembering, as an Acknowledgment of that Service, tho' under other Pretences, procured his Banishment to be remitted, and him only to be expelled the Senate.

XXX. I doubt not, divers Things will be found in these Annals, which will seem unworthy of being remarked: I would not have any one compare this to the celebrated Works of the Ancients, who have written

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#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

(4) It behoves a Prince to punish severely Mercenary Judges; and there is nothing a People has so much Reason to complain of, as an Obstruction of Justice; nor any thing of greater Importance to a Prince, than to have the Reputation of being Just, and to revenge himself without Mercy of those in great Places, who op-

press his People: The Prince is a Shepherd, the People are his Flock; Great Men are the Wolves that would devour them, and Magistrates and Judges are the Dogs which should guard them.

(5) Princes, and Ministers of State ought not to regard the sinister Judgments made of them, whilst they are

#### HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

The Author of the *Instruction of History*, says, That *Tacitus* is always taken up with relating of great Things, that he cannot stoop to lesser, which ought not to be past by: Yet *Tacitus* here declares the contrary: Laws, says *Machiavel*, which never were talk'd on in *Rome*, but all was in an uproar. *His Discourses, Book 1. Chap. 37.*

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ten the *Roman History*; those illustrious Writers by a free and spacious Field, famous Wars, Cities taken, Kings defeated and taken Prisoners: And when they came nearer home, Dissentions between the Consuls and Tribunes, Publick Largesses; Dissentions between the People and Senate. Our Work, on the contrary, is barren and disgusting, a profound Peace, or very trivial Wars; the Affairs of *Rome* in a sad Condition, a Prince without Ambition of extending his Dominions: However, it is not entirely useles, to reflect on Things which seem at first to be of little Consequence, because they sometimes produce great Effects (1).

XXXI. All

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

are assured they are groundless: They ought to consider, says the Cardinal de Richelieu, that whatever is done for the Publick, is acknowledged by no private Persons, and Fame is the only Payment for Publick spirited and Generous Men. *Test. Politick. Part. 1. Chap. 8. Sect. 3.* Was it not a great Honour to *William du Vair*, to have the Seals restored to him in 1617, which were taken away from him in 1616, for refusing to Seal a Patent of Duke and Peer, for the *Maréchal d'Ancre*, and a Pardon for one of his Gentlemen?

(1) Oftentimes from very slight occasions Things of the greatest Importance take their Rise: Wherefore an Historian ought not to neglect small things, when they may give us light into greater; and this Exactness is very necessary in the Lives of Princes, whom we ought to know by their Claws, as we do Lions. *Don Antonio Joan de Vera* tells us of *Charles* the Fifth, That whilst he was a Child, he would Fence against the Arm'd Figures in the Tapitry; that he would range his Pages and Play-fellows, in order of Battel, and

fight and take Prisoners; and after he had conquered, make them carry him on their Shoulders; that one day, one of his Play-fellows refusing to be Captain of the Turks, for he would always be Captain of the Christians himself, he gave him his Hat, Swash and Feather, to oblige him, to Head the Turks: Trifling things, which were so many mysterious Prefages of his Destiny. This puts me in mind of *Don Carlos*, Infant of Spain, the last Child of *Philip* the Third, who gave a box on the Ear to his Play-fellow, that told him, He must be Archbishop of *Toledo*, and went crying to his Father, not to make him Archbishop, because he would go to the War. *Letter of Jan. 1619. writ to Lewis XIII. in the First Tome of the Memoirs of Cardinal de Richelieu.* I find in the Memoirs of Queen *Margaret*, a Particularity which serves as a Proof of my Assertion: Being between five and six Years old, says she, The King my Father holding me on his Knee, bid me chuse which of those two Gentlemen, I would have for my Servant, Monsieur, the Prince de

Joinv.

XXXI. All Cities, or Nations, are governed either by the People, the Nobility, or the Prince; and it would be difficult to find any other Form of Government: And supposing it were possible to find such, it could not continue long (1). Now, as heretofore, under the Dominion of the Senate, and the People, all the Secret of Policy consisted in knowing the Humor of one, and the other (2); and those that were best skilled in that Art, were esteemed the most able Men: So the State having changed Face, and being now become a Monarchy, where all the Power is lodged in the Hands of one; it is necessary to know the Things we speak

## POLITICAL REMARKS:

*Joinville*, who was after the unfortunate Duke of *Guise*; or the Marquis de *Beaupreau*, Son of the Prince de *La Roche-sur-yon*, both at Play near him. I told him, I would have the Marquis: Why, said he, He is not so Fine as the other? Because, he is Wiser, replied I, and the other can abide nothing patiently, but will always have the Mastery. A certain Augury of what since happened.

(1) A Government, which should have that which is best in Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy, would be perfect; but, according to *Tacitus*, such a Perfection would be impossible, not only in Theory, but in Practice. The Commonwealth of *Plato*, the *Utopia* of *Sir Thomas Moor*, are perfect States; but such as never had any other than an Existence in Imagination: One may, I think, form a Government, which retains something of Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy; but sooner or later, one or other will exceed its Bounds, because there will be Vice, Dissentions, Jealousies and Oppressions, as long as there will be Men: It is therefore impossible, that such a Government should be of a long Continuance, till it has taken one of the

three Forms exclusive of the other. Let no one object the Example of the Republick of *Venice*, which some Writers will have, to have a Mixture of Monarchy in the Person of the Doge, who is its Life; and of a Democracy in its Chancellor, who is never of the Body of the Nobility; and according to *Jasper Contarini*, is as it were the Doge of the People: For the Doge only having Precedence, and a richer Habit, than the rest of the Nobility, and the Chancellor having no Voice in the Debates of their Council, where he sits only as a Clerk, we cannot say; that the Authority, either of one or the other, does any wise prejudice the Venetian Aristocracy.

(2) In reading the History of *Leonard d'Arezzo* and *Poggio*, says *Machiavel*, I find they have very well described the *Florentine* Wars with other Princes; but for the Civil Dissentions and Quarrels, and their Effects, they have omitted one part quite, and handled the other so succinctly, that the reading them affords neither Pleasure nor Profit: If they have done this, because those Actions did not seem worthy to be trans-

mitted to Posterity; or, because they

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were

speak of ; few Men are able to find of themselves what is proper to be done, but almost all may be instructed by the Examples of others (3) ; but as on the one hand there is abundance of Profit, so on the other there is but little Diversion. The Description of Foreign Countries, variety of Wars, celebrated End of great Commanders, entertain the Mind of the Reader, and rouse his Attention ; but continual Impeachings, cruel Orders, treacherous Friendships, Innocence oppressed, Malice triumphant, and Causes producing these dismal Effects, tire the Mind, tedious, perpetual Repetition of the same lamentable Tragedies : Besides, the ancient Works are revered, and no one is concerned when a Historian favours the *Romans*, or *Carthaginians* ; but most of those who were branded with

Infamia.

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

were afraid to offend the Descendants of the Persons interested in the Affairs of those Times, whose Reputation might be stained ; either of these Reasons appear to me unworthy of those Great Men. If there be any thing instructive or delightful in History, it is certainly that part which relates Particulars : If there be any Reading useful to those who are concerned in Government, it must be, that which teaches them the Cause of Civil Divisions, and Enmities ; that which teaches them to learn by the Folly of others, and keep a good Union amongst themselves.—But if *Leonard* and *Poggi* have forbore these Relations, to avoid hurting the Memory of those, of

whom they had Matter to speak ; it is an evident Mark, they did not understand the Vanity of Men, nor the Desire they have to perpetuate the Memory of their Ancestors, and their own Names : They must forget, that some have endeavoured to render themselves Famous, by Actions worthy of blame, because they wanted Opportunity to make themselves so by Actions that deserved Praise, or because they had not considered, that things great in themselves, as are Affairs of State, always redound more to the Honour, than the Blame of those who manage them. In the Preface to his History of Florence.

(3) The Art of a Courtier, like that

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

\* The Spanish Commentator on *Commines*, tells us on the contrary, That *Tacitus* was happy, to find in the Reign of this Prince, store of Matter, which hit so well the Critical Character of his Genius. Note \*, in Chap. 108.

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Infamy, or punished in the Reign of *Tiberius* <sup>h</sup>, have left their Posterity ; and tho' their Family should be extinct, yet others who resemble them in Humor or Inclination, would imagine you reproach their Vices under another Name (4). Add to all this, Glory and Virtue make Men jealous, especially since like Actions, may be very differently interpreted.

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

that of a Chyrurgeon, cannot be learnt by Theory, but by seeing the Wounds of another. In his *Apophthegms*. In another place, he tells us, Great Workmen gain more Instruction by a Fault committed, by a Man excellent in the Profession, more than by their own Essays, or Masterpieces ; and good Pilots improve themselves in the Art of Navigation at the Expence of others, who have unhappily wreck'd themselves on the Shelves.

(4) We take that as spoke against us, which is spoke against those who very much resemble us. *Philip* the Second would never suffer *Don Pedro*, King of *Castile*, to be called *Peter* the Cruel, but *Peter* the Just, because he knew they compared him to himself, and would do so more after his Death. *Henry* the Third, being in *Poland*, very well understood the Nuncio *Vincent Laure*, who

was after Cardinal *de Mondovi*, when he spoke of *Henry* his Father ; that a certain Lady, whom he loved passionately, had told him, That his greatest Fault was, that he was a little too much given to Raillery : For the King of *Poland*, who some days before, had made the Grimace to a certain Nobleman of Merit, remembering this Indecence, took the Hint and said, *Sir, I understand you, and thank you for your good Advice.* *Pagliari*, *Obj.* 469. where, without naming *Henry* the Third, he tells us, He had this Particular, from the Mouth of the Cardinal *de Mondovi*. It is natural to Men, says the Translator of *Theophrastus*, not to allow Moral Reflection to be fine or exact, which touches them, and in which they find themselves painted, and drawn to the Life ; and hamper themselves by condemning it. In his Preface.

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

\* One telling Cardinal *du Perron*, that one was writing the Life of *Henry* the Fourth ; It would be well, says he, if that were done Thirty Years hence ; but at present said, That the Truth of every Thing cannot be spoken, without offending abundance of Persons.—*Perroniana*.

## THE

## Year of ROME, 778.

XXXII. **U**nder the Consulate of *Cornelius Cossus* and *Asinius Agrippa*, *Cremutius Cordus* was accused of a new and extraordinary Crime (1), for having extolled *Brutus* and *Cassius*; and in his Annals, calling the latter, the last true Roman (2). *Satrius Secundus*, and *Pinarus Natta*, two Creatures of *Sejanus*, were the Informers, which was fatal to him, especially when the Emperour had shewn himself displeas'd at any Attempts to excuse him: But *Cremutius Cordus*, with a Resolution of Mind, address'd himself to the Senate in the following manner:

## GENTLEMEN,

**M**Y Words are made criminal (3), since my Actions are innocent. The Words I stand accused of, are neither against the Emperour, nor his Mother, which are only comprized within the

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) The most evident Mark of Tyranny in a Prince, is, when he suffers things, which have been always held indifferent, to be construed High-Treason.

(2) As a Man who writes to the Genius of his Age, writes not for Posterity, because he only seeks to please the Age he lives in; so on the other hand, a Man who writes for Posterity, never accommodates himself to the Genius of his Age he lives in, since he is only careful to please Posterity: From hence it re-

sults, that a faithful Historian cannot well publish his Writings, till after his Death, to avoid the Persecution of those Persons, whose Interest it is to suppress the Truth. If any other than *d'Aubigne*, whom *Henry IV.* honoured with his especial Favour and Esteem, had said, That the Chancellor of the Hospital, was the last French Man, most undoubtedly the Courtiers would have poisoned that Word, and transformed it into a Crime.

(3) At Court, free speaking is as Criminal as open Actions: All Times have

the Law of High-Treason: They object, I have commended *Brutus* and *Cassius*, two Persons that all our Histories name with Honour: Thus *Livius*, a Writer, illustrious for his Fidelity and Eloquence, was called by *Augustus*, Pompey's Champion, for the great Character he always gives him; which Liberty was no prejudice to their Friendship. This excellent Author never speaks of these Great Men, *Scipio*, *Afranius*, *Brutus*, and *Cassius*, without Deference; very far from calling them Villains and Parricides, in the Language of these times (4): Their Memory is yet revered, in the Writings of *Asinius Pollio*. *Messala Corvinus* boasts, That he had served under *Cassius* (5); and yet this was no obstruction to their Rise and Fortunes (6). *Cicero* magnifies *Cato* to the Skies, in a Book expressly writ for that purpose; and yet *Cæsar*, tho' Dictator, only answers one Book with another (7), appealing, for the Merits of the Cause, to the

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

have afforded us. Instances of Favourites, discarded for Words; and, we have often seen Princes resent Words more than Actions; and remember them longer. (*Antonio Perez*) has good Reason to say, *There is no Shelfes more dangerous than the Ears of Princes.*

(4) The Judgments of Men shift with the Times they live in, and the Interests they have to manage with those who have the Power in their Hands. Those who live under a Republican Government, are for the Laws; but those who are under an absolute Prince, are for raising the Power of Kings. Some Court-Parasites endeavouring to render *Cato* odious to *Augustus*, who was a strenuous Defender of the Publick Liberty; this Prince replied, *He was an honest Man, who stood up to maintain the Form of Government settled in his Country.*

(5) Soldiers value themselves for having served under some famous

General, as Men of Letters, for having study'd under the best Masters.

(6) It is for the Grandeur and Reputation of Princes, to extend their Grace to great Men, tho' of a contrary Party to their own: Nothing makes more for their Glory, than to honour Merit even in their own proper Enemies; and this good Quality, sooner or later, will turn to their certain Advantage.

(7) *Cæsar*, whose Power was equal to his Wisdom, answer'd by writing those that attack'd him in that manner, without making use of the other Means, which he was Master of: In these Times, if you attack any sorry Monk, who has an Ace of Credit at Court, or with any Persons in Power, he will procure Orders for Imprisonment, Sentences of Banishment, as if Religion, or the State, were engaged in the Quarrel: *Quasi id Respublica esset.* And thus very mean Pieces become Sacred and Inviolable, either because their

*impartial Reader. There are yet extant, the Letters of Anthony, and the Harangues of Brutus, injurious to the Memory of Augustus; and tho' these bitter Invectives, are but pure Calumnies; yet they shew the Liberty of those Times. The Verses of Bibaculus and Catullus, are stuf't with bloody Satyrs on the Cæsars; and yet those Great Men have suffered these Liberties (8), with as much Prudence as Generosity. Calumny falls to the Ground, when neglected; but we give a Countenance to it, by having any serious Concern about it. I shall not mention the Greeks, who have assumed an exorbitant License, of speaking whatever they please; and yet no one ever takes any other Revenge than by Words: But it has been always permitted, to speak freely a Man's Mind of those, whom Death has put beyond the reach of Flattery or Hatred. For the rest, these are not Harangues publickly made to the People, while Brutus and Cassius were in the Plains of Philippi, to excite them to joyn in the Defence of their Liberties. It is now near seventy Years since they were dead; and yet*

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

Author is of some potent Order, or because his Book, more gallant than his Habit, pleases the Ladies.

(8) Great Princes ought to look upon Detractors as Cow-hearted Dogs, who only bite the Cloaths, and not the Man. The Senate of Rome beginning to make Enquiries after the Authors of some Satyrs against *Tiberius*: We have not, says he, the leisure to amuse our selves about such sorts of Trifles; If you once come to open a Door to such sort of Matters, there will be no place left for any besides: Under this Pretence, every one will address himself to you, to revenge him of his Enemies. *Suetonius in the Life of Tiberius.* *Gregory Leti* makes another Reflection, judicious enough, upon the Suppression of Books, where Princes or their Ministers of State are concerned: Altho' there are, says he, Ages, and those civilized too, who will not permit

Princes to be censured: There is no worse Maxim, nor more uncertain, all Men, and particularly those of Europe, who are the most refined, and more conversant in the Sciences, than other People, have so ill an Opinion of the Conduct of Princes, that they will believe nothing that is spoken to their Praise; and this Impression is so rooted in the Hearts and Minds of the People, that if *St. Paul* were alive amongst us, and should attempt to speak, or write of the true and real Holiness of any Prince, he would not find any one single Man to believe him; And why so? This then is the Reason: In this time all Mankind, not only the civilized World, but the ordinary sort of People knows by Experience, that the Truth is not allowed to be spoken of the Actions of Princes; and that whoever does it must be punished: So the People being

*the Victors have never defaced their Statues (9), nor the Historians blackned their Memory. Posterity will render to every one the Glory due to them, and some will come hereafter; however you condemn me now, who will not pass over my Actions in silence (10), no more than those Great Persons.*

Immediately after he went out of the Senate-house, and finished his Life by a voluntary Abstinence.

XXXIII. The Senate ordered the Books to be burnt (1) by the Ediles; but they were secretly preserved, and appeared in the World after the Death of *Tiberius*. A plain Instance of the Folly of those who imagine, by a Temporary Power, of small duration, to suppress that Truth which shall last to After-ages. On the contrary, publick Censure gives a new Authority

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

ing persuaded of the Rigor of these Prohibitions, cannot do otherwise than imagine, that the Panegyrics made on Princes are Flatteries; because, say they, The Fear of the Penalties inflicted by Princes, deprives them of all Liberty of writing otherwise: Whereas, if Liberty were given to mix the Composition, and infuse Two Ounces of Poison with Three hundred Weight of Sugar; that is to say, to declare amongst a great many good Qualities, some Defects which are publick, every one would give Credit to the rest, and think the Prince Master of all those Virtues that Historian commends him for, who shall observe in him some common Vice. *Part 1. Book 1. of his Ceremonial.* The Spanish Commentator upon *Commines*, is of the same Sentiment: *The Praises given to Princes, says he, never pass for sincere and real, when they are not alloyed with some Blame.* *Commines* has acted the Part of a good Historian, in recounting the Vices of *Lewis* the Eleventh, as well as his

Virtues. *Letter H. Chap. 136.*

(9) It is the Interest of the Victor to preserve the Images and Statues of the Vanquished; for, besides the publick Testimony they give of his Moderation, they serve to perpetuate his Triumphs: They serve as so many Occasions to Posterity, to demand the Names of the Persons they represent; and by that means, the Names of the Generals who vanquished them.

(10) The Curiosity of Mankind is such, that they desire more to know Man persecuted by his Prince, than those that enjoy his Favour: There are a great many, whom the History of their Ages had never mentioned, but for the Memory of the Wrongs, and ill Treatment which they have received.

(1) To burn the Books, is but to kindle a Curiosity of Reading them; whereas to give them free Liberty of passing to and fro, is the most ready way to nauseate the Readers, and take off the Itch of Reading, to those who have not yet seen them. The

rity to the Works condemned (2); and Foreigners, as well as our own Princes, who have used this Artifice have but publish'd their own Disgrace, and heaped Glory on the Head of their Enemies.

XXXIV. But to return to our Subject; this Year abounded in Accusations to that degree, that during the *Latin Ferie* <sup>a</sup>, *Drusus*, who was Governour of *Rome* <sup>b</sup>, ascending the Tribunal, to take possession of his Charge, *Calpurnius Salvianus* presented himself before him, to accuse *Sextus Marius* <sup>c</sup>: Which was so re-

sented

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

The Sentence given by the Provost of *Paris* against the late Abbot *Euretiere* in 1686, filled the whole Town with his *Factums*, and the Suppression of the two first, as defamatory Libels, gave Birth to a Third in 1687. The Duke of *Lerma*, first Minister of *Spain*, having seized all the Copies of a Pamphlet, Intituled, *De la Razon de Estado de Fray Juan de Santa Maria descalco*, was

the Cause of two other Editions else, where, which were dispersed thro' all Parts of Europe. The little Treatise of Money of *Father Mariana* had the like Fortune, as we may see in *Chap.* 184. of the Spanish Edition of *Commines*, about the end of the last Observation.

(2) It is very easie for great Men to proscribe those who dare write against them; but however great

#### HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

\* The *Ferie* lasted three Days: *Tarquin* the Proud, instituted the first, in Memory of the Alliance contracted between the *Romans*. And the second was dedicated by the People, after the Expulsion of their Kings, and the Restoration of their Liberties. And the third was added by the Senate, in Memory of their Reconciliation with the People; who had retired themselves to *Mont-sacer*, discontented, to see all considerable Posts, and Places of Profit and Trust, in the Hands of the Nobility. *Dion*, and *Plutarch* tell us, That the People instituted a fourth Day of Rejoycing, for their having obtained, after a long Contest, from the Senate, that one of the two Consuls, should always be of a *Plebeian* Family: Which hapned under the fifth Dictatorship of *Camilus*.

<sup>b</sup> As the Consuls were obliged to preside in Sacrifices, and all other Ceremonies of Religion, performed during these *Ferie Latine*; so they were obliged to appoint a Consul, Lieutenant, to govern the City, during those four Days: *Ob ferias Latinas*, says *Tacit.* Ann. 6. *praeficitur, qui Consulare munus usurpet.* This Commissionated Governour, was never simply termed, *Praefectus urbis*; but, *Praefectus urbis Latiaris*, or *Latinarum*.

<sup>c</sup> *Tacitus* does not acquaint us what this pretended Crime was; but *Annal* 6. he tells us, he was accused of incestuously abusing his own Daughter.

<sup>d</sup> *Dion.*

sented by the Emperour (1), that he procured the Informer to be banished. The *Ciziceniens*, convicted of having publicly neglected the Adoration of *Augustus*, and the violent Proceedings against some *Roman* Citizens <sup>d</sup>, lost those Priviledges and Immunities which they had acquired in the War with *Mithridates*, when they bravely defended themselves, and saved their City from falling into his Hands, as well by their own Valour, as the Assistance of *Lucullus*. *Fonteius Capito*, Pro-Consul of *Asia*, was declared innocent of the Crimes which *Vibius Sereenus* had accused him of: But the Accuser escaped Punishment, being secured against all probability, by the popular Odium: For *Tiberius* protected the most notorious Informers, making their Persons sacred and inviolable, whilst he abandoned the lesser to the Rage and Vengeance of the People.

#### XXXV. A-

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

great and formidable they are, it is easier to take away the Lives of the Authors, than to suppress their Writings. What *Paterculus* says to *Marc Anthony*, may directly be applied to them: You have done nothing (says he;) you have, I say, done nothing, in hiring a bloody Murderer, to take off the Head, and stop the Mouth of that Divine Consul, who so long stood up in Defence of our Lives and Liberties: You have indeed, deprived *Cicero* of a Life full of Troubles, sinking beneath the Weight of Age and Infirmities: You have shortened his Days, which would have been more ungrateful to him under thy Empire,

than his Death under thy Triumvirat: But for his glorious Actions, his eloquent Speeches, instead of diminishing them, you have added to their Lustre: *Cicero* lives still, and his Memory will last to all after Ages; Posterity will hereafter admire his Discourses against thee, and detest thy Actions against him: In short, the Race of Mankind will sooner perish than his immortal Name shall die. *Hist.* 2. *Chap.* 66.

(1) It is not only Prudence, but Humanity in a Prince, not to permit Days dedicated to Publick Ceremony, Religious Festivals, or Days of Rejoycing, to be disturbed by Proceedings against Criminals: As nothing

#### HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>a</sup> *Dion* tells us, That *Augustus* having deprived them of their Liberties, for whipping to Death some Citizens of *Rome*, restored them five or six Years after. Thus it was highly criminal in them, to neglect the Worship of a Prince, who had been to great a Benefactor to them.

<sup>b</sup> *Pliny*

XXXV. About the same time, the Ulterior *Spain* sent to demand permission, to build a Temple after the Example of *Asia*, to the Emperour, and his Mother. *Tiberius* took occasion from hence, to answer those who accused him of having lost his ancient Modesty (1); besides that, he was by Nature an Enemy to these sort of Vani-

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

thing is dearer to most Men than their Pleasures, nothing is more capable of exasperating them against a Prince than these sort of Rigors, which, however just the Cause may be, will always pass in the Minds for Acts of Violence and Cruelty, when they are practised on at times set apart for other Purposes: For this Reason, the Priests and Doctors of the Law being assembled with the High-priest *Caiaphas*, in debate, what way they might best seize the Person of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, whom they design'd to crucify, resolv'd not to apprehend him in the time of the Feast of the Passover, lest it should breed Disturbance amongst the People. The Count de *Santa Coloma*, Viceroy of *Catalonia*, giving an Account to the King of *Spain* of a Meeting at *Barcelona*, upon the Day before *Lent*, in which a certain Gentleman had proposed, That upon that Day, the Officers of the Town should not put Flambeaux in their Windows, that all Balls should be interdicted; to which a Tradesman in the Town, had added, That in his Opinion, the Counsellors of the Court should put themselves in Mourning: It would be well, says he, to make an Exemplary Punishment of those Persons when the Tumult is suppress'd, to make them cautious for the future, in giving Advice, tending to raise Sedition among the People. Letter of Feb. 22. 1640. which was the Year of the Revolt of *Catalonia* and *Portugal*. *Memoirs of Cardinal Richelieu*, Tome 4.

(1) Tho' Princes are not obliged to give an Account of their Actions, it is in no manner belonging to the People to censure them; yet nevertheless, there are occasions, where they may justify their Conduct without prejudice to their Dignity or Independence: As on the one hand, it would be a base Condescension to answer every Complaint the People should make of the Government; it would on the other side, be rash and imprudent, to condemn them so far, as to give occasion to think, that the Councils of State were more governed by a Capricious Humour, than certain and steady Reasons. The Cities of *Castille* being up in Arms against *Charles* the Fifth, upon occasion of a Report spread in *Flanders*, That he was one that brought *Joan*, the Queen-Mother, with a Design never to return into *Spain*; that Prince, who was then chosen Emperor, made a Remonstrance to the States, That his Voyage was indispensably necessary to go and receive the Imperial Crown, and to oppose the Enterprize of *Francis* I. his Rival; that being no less King of the *Flemmings*, than of the *Spaniards*, he owed them no less his Assistance and Protection, than to his other Subjects, tho' he look'd upon *Castille* as the Center and Foundation of his Monarchy; that the Established Religion, being disturbed by *Luther*, called him into *Germany*; and in fine, he was resolv'd to lose all his Kingdoms, and his Life besides, rather than be wanting to his Duty.

Dm.

Vanities; I know very well, says he, that many Men will condemn me, for suffering *Asia* to build me a Temple, as *Spain* at present would do: But I will give you a Reason for what I have done, and declare my Resolution for the future: The Divine *Augustus*, whose Actions and Words are so many irrevocable Laws to me, having consented, that the People of *Pergamus* should dedicate a Temple to him, and the City of *Rome*; I thought I might follow so great an Example (2), so much the rather, since the Honour intended me, was join'd with the Veneration paid to the Senate. But as on the one hand it might have been too great a piece of Severity, to have denied it for once; so on the other, doubtless, it would be too great a Vanity and Folly, to suffer one's self to be adored as a God, through all the Provinces of the Empire (3). Besides, it cannot but be a great Diminution to the Glory of *Augustus*, to communicate it indifferently to all the World. For my own part, Gentlemen, I am mortal, and subject to Human Infirmities; I am contented with being a Prince here, without being rais'd to the Throne of a God. I protest to you, I desire this Testimony may be given of me to Posterity. It will be Glory enough for me, to be thought worthy of my Ancestors; a vigilant Prince, one who is insensible of Fear, when the Commonwealth

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*Don Juan Antonio de Vera*, in the Epitomy of his Life.

(2) When a Prince refuses an Honour, which his Predecessor has accepted, it looks as tho' it were not done so much out of Modesty, as a Design to gain Reputation at the Expence of another, whose Memory he ought to Revere.

(3) Good Princes accept moderate Honours, and refuse those which are excessive. According to *Pliny* the Younger, a Prince, who refuses all, is more proud than him who accepts some. *Recusare omnes, ambitionis*. For it looks, as if he desired greater.

*Antonio Herrera* tells us, He knew a certain Person, an able Workman of the *Milaneze*, who proposed to *Philip* the Second, an easy Method to place his Arms and Statue over the Gates of every City, in the Duchy of *Milan*, without impairing his Patrimonial Revenues. This Prince replied, That he wanted no Statues upon Earth, that he only would find one, who could erect him one above, at what Rate soever it were done. Chap. 2. Book 3. of the Second Part of his History. *Strada Decad. 1. Lib. 17.*

(4) When

wealth is in Danger (4). These are the Temples and Monuments which I desire to erect in your Breasts : For Works of Marble and Brass, raised to the Glory of Princes, are condemned by Posterity as so many naked Sepulchers, when their Memory (5) is condemned. I intreat Heaven to give me

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(4) When the Common Interest is at stake, a Prince ought to condemn the Clamours of some few, without diverting from the Way that leads to the Welfare of the State. The ill-judging Multitude are oftentimes prejudiced against what is for their own Good, and sometimes that which is absolutely necessary thereunto.

(5) Mausoleums, Epitaphs, and such like Monuments, avail little to preserve the Memory of Princes, if History do not give a good Testimony of their Actions; we do not use to have recourse to Inscriptions on their Tombs, to inform our selves of their Lives and Reigns. *John Galeas* says, *Philip de Communes* was an ill Man, and a great Tyrant, nevertheless his Body was interr'd at *Padua*, in the Covent of the *Chartreux*, above the great Altar; and one of those good Fathers calling him *Saint*; I ask'd him,

in his Ear, Why he gave him the Appellation of Holy? whose Tomb he saw plum'd with the Trophies of Cities, which he had usurp'd, without any just Pretensions to them. *Book 7. Chap. 7. of his Memoirs.* This is the genuine Impression which those magnificent Tombs, and Warlike Trophies make on those whom History has disabused. *Charles the Fifth* 'spying, in a certain Cemetery of Monks, a sumptuous Monument of a certain *Spanish Lady*, who in his Time had but an indifferent Reputation, express'd himself in this manner to the Prior of the Covent: Is it not enough, that she undergo Four hundred Years Penance? Remove her, and put her in another place, where Silence will make those things forgotten, which this Monument will still keep fresh in Memory. *Don Juan Antonio de Vera, in the Epitomy of his Life.*

(6) Tran-

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

\* *Pliny the Second*, speaking of the Statues of Gold erected to *Domitian*, and thrown down after his Death, tells us, The People did it with so much eagerness, as if they took a singular pleasure, in each Stroke they made to demolish them. In his *Panegyrick of Trajan*. And *Strada* relates, The People of *Antwerp* not content with razing the Cittadel, which the Duke d'Alva had built, extended their Fury to his Triumphal Statue; which they did with as much eagerness, as they would have been tearing his proper Body in pieces. He further adds, That divers breaking to pieces the Pedestal, carried away Bits of it, to keep in their Houses, as the Plunders of a Conquest, and a Demonstration of their Zeal to revenge themselves on the Enemy of their Country. In the *First Decade of his History*, Book IX. *Cabiera* rallies the Vanity, and Credulity of *Pope Paul the First*; who grew proud of the Marble Statue which the People of *Rome* erected to him, in the Capitol; imagining, that he was beloved by those, who, after his Death, threw it down, and broke it to pieces with a thousand Outrages.

\* *Tert*

Serenity of Mind (6), and a Spirit to discern and judge uprightly of the Laws of God and Man (7); and after my Decease, I confide, my Fellow-Citizens, and Allies, will preserve my Memory with their Blessings and Praises (8).

XXXVI. He persisted after in the Contempt of those Honours<sup>f</sup>, every one making a different Construction of

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(6) Tranquillity of Mind is the greatest Blessing a Prince can enjoy in his old Age; but this seldom happens to those who have used their Subjects with too much Severity: They are ever diffident, says *Commynes*, and especially those, who have abundance of Enemies, and offended a great many, as *Lewis the Tenth. Memoirs. Lib. 6. Chap. 7.* He who had obliged others to live in Fear, was very well served, when he stood in Fear himself of his own Son, Daughter, Son-in-Law, and all those who were to govern: I do not instance in him alone, but in all the other great Men, who would make themselves fear'd; for, as an Act of Penitence, they stand in fear of every Man in their old Age. *Chap. 12. of the same Book.*

(7) There is nothing Princes stand in greater need of, than that Knowledge of Divine and Human Laws, without which it is impossible to govern their People in Peace and Justice. This is that which *David* be-

seches God to give him in that Prayer, *Spiritu principali confirma me*, or strengthen my Spirit, which is so necessary for Princes. *Commynes* ascribes all the Misfortunes of the last Duke of *Burgundy* to his Presumption: I cannot see any thing, says our Author, whereby he could more incur the Divine Displeasure, than by imputing his good Fortune to his Sence and Courage, without giving the Praise thereof to God as he ought. *Chap. 13. of the Fourth Book, and 9th of the Fifth, of his Memoirs.* To this Purpose, was that wise Saying of King *Lewis*, When Pride leads the way, Disgrace and Ill Fortune ever come after. *Book 2. Chap. 4.*

(8) There are no finer Pictures of great Princes, than their Actions, says *Agostlaus*, who would never suffer his Picture to be drawn, or his Statue to be erected. Painters, Engravers, Statuaries, represent only the Image of the Body, but Actions that of the Mind. This was well express'd by

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

\* *Tertullian* tells us, That the refusal of Divine Honours, by *Tiberius*, was the reason why the Senate would not admit them to be given to *Jesus Christ*, when this Prince propos'd to place him in the Number of their Gods: *Tiberius*, (says he, in his Apologetick Discourse), *Detulit ad Senatum, cum prerogativa suffragii sui. Senatus, quia non in se probaverat, respuit.* And this Refusal of the Senate, was a very true piece of Flattery: For *Tiberius* refusing this Divine Worship, which *Spain* would have paid him, the Senate affected by this means, to shew, that it was not consistent with their Respect to him, to admit another to those Honours which he had refused for himself.

\* By



of his refusal; some ascribing it to his Modesty; others, to his Diffidence, and Pusillanimity (1). They all ledged, *That the greatest Spirits, always aspired to the greatest Honours: That Hercules and Bacchus, amongst the Greeks, and Romulus among the Romans, had been placed in the Number of the Gods: That it was glorious to Augustus, to have attempted it: That Princes, from the Hour they ascend the Throne, have all the Grandeur of this World: That the Thirst of Glory and Honour ought to be immortal, since they condemn Virtue itself, who once slight its Reward.*

XXXVII. In the mean time, *Sejanus*, infatuated with his good Fortune, and the Cares of *Livia* (1), who

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by *Philip* the Second, in his Reply to *Don Diego de Cordova*, who being exceedingly scandalized at some Pictures of the King's, which he had seen sold, besought his Majesty to give Orders to such Persons, to forbear Drawing them: Let the poor Men, says he, get them a Livelihood; If they represent our Face amiss, they do not represent our Manners. *In Don Filip el prudente; the last Chapter but one.* In short, Praise is the only Reward good Princes can hope for after their Death, for all the Fatigues and Crosses they endure in their Lives.

(1) Let Princes make what specious Appearance of Modesty they please; 'tis certain, the Speculative Critics and Detractors will always Misrepresent their Actions: Of all the Laws that *Philip* made (says *Cabrera*

*ra*) that certainly was most to be commended, which related to the Reformation of Titles and Qualities, which were impertinently given in Letters: For Example, He commanded them in all Letters addressed to him, to give him no other Appellation, than that of *Sennor*, a Title used to Persons of all Ranks and Qualities: And yet the Critics at *Rome* did not fail wittily to say, That *Philip*, in ordering himself to be called *El Sennor*, assumed to himself a Title that belonged only to God above. *In the Twelfth Book of his History, Chap. 21. And Sisto Quinto* censured this Pragmatick, and put it into the Expurgatory Index, declaring, That whoever should make use of it, should be compriz'd in the Excommunication, set forth in the Bull, in *Cena Domini*, and requiring all Cardinals and other Prelates

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

\* By reason of the Hatred he knew they bore him, thinking it made more for his Glory, to wave those Temples, than expose himself to Infamy; if, perchance, they should demolish them after his Death. *Cum sit multo deformius amittere, quam non assequi laudem*, *Plin. Epist. ultima, Libra 8.*

<sup>a</sup> *Cabrera*

who prest him to accomplish the Marriage (2), writ a Letter to *Tiberius*, tho' he was present, according to the Custom of those Times<sup>h</sup>, setting forth, *That he had so many Obligations to the Memory of Augustus, and the many Marks of Affection of Tiberius, that he did not sooner address his Prayers to the Gods, than the Emperour* (3): *That he was never seduced by dazzling Honours and Dignities: That his utmost Ambition, was the Glory and Safety of his Prince; for which Ends, he boasted, he could undergo as many Fatigues as the meanest Soldier* (4): *That he had already*

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

*Pelates* to tear all Letters, whose Subscription was not in the ordinary Form. Letter of the *Marq. de Pisani*, *Embassador at Rome, in the Confirmation of the Hist. of the Card. de Joyeuse.*

(1) There is nothing but an amorous Man will do, to content a Woman, whom he designs to espouse, especially when her Quality is infinitely above his.

(2) When a Woman has prostituted her self to a Man, she always has a greater Passion for him, than he for her. An Adulteress, one, who besides that Crime, has caused her Husband to be poisoned, ought to have abundance of Charms to possess the Love of her Accomplice, as to engage him to Marry her, and by Consequence, expose himself to the like Danger, when she chances to meet another Spark, which pleases her better.

(3) It would not be difficult to find this Quality in the Favourites of these Times: It is a Remark which *Don Carlos Colonna* has made in his Translation upon this Passage. The Journal of the Reign of *Henry* the Third, gives us an Example of the deplorable Blindness of Favourites. *Quelus*, says our Author, languished Three and thirty Days, notwithstanding all the King's Care, who, for all that time, never once stirred from his Pillow, who promised him a Hundred Thousand Crowns upon his Recovery, and a Hundred Thousand Livres to the Chyrurgeons who attended him, passed into another World, having ever in his Mouth, 'till he expired, *Oh, my King, my King!* without once naming his God.

(4) The higher any Favourite is raised,

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>a</sup> *Cabrera* tells us, The Disgrace of Cardinal *Espinosa*, began from the Command which *Philip* the Second gave him, never to consult him but by Writing; that by this means he might have more leisure to examine the Matters proposed by that Minister, who had often abused his Facility and Patience. *Chap. 27. of his History.* Thus Table-Books, and Memoirs, are the most sure Way for Princes, who have not Resolution enough to refuse Great Men those Favours, which they sometimes ask without Justice, or Reason.

F

<sup>1</sup> *Agrip-*

already obtained what he esteemed the most desirable Thing in the World, an Alliance to the Imperial House: That this Reflection had emboldned him (5); and since he had heard, that Augustus had once design'd to give his Daughter to a Roman Knight, he intreated, that, if Tiberius intended a Husband for Livia, he would not disdain a Man whom he had favoured with his Friendship; who had no other Intention in this Marriage, but the Honour of the Alliance: That by this he did not pretend to exempt himself from the Care and Pains, for the Security of the Person of so good a Master; but to find Shelter for his Children, against the Persecutions of Agrippina: That for his own part, he should (6) never desire to survive so Great a Benefactor.

XXXVII. Tiberius, after he had commended the Fidelity of Sejanus, and taken Notice of the Favours he had conferred on him, excused himself from giving so sudden an Answer (1), to an Affair of so great a Consequence;

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raised, the more glorious it is to him to debase himself to the meanest Imploys in the Service of his Prince, not at all times, which would look too much like Affectation; and disgust his Master, whatever necessity require: For instance, in sudden Danger, in some Accident unforeseen, in a Distemper, or the like. Thus *Commines* tells us, he served *Lewis* the Eleventh, as his *Valet de Chambre*, for the Space of Forty Days, that he was confined at *Chinon*; adding, that he esteemed this a mighty Honour. *Book 6. Chap. 7. of his Memoirs.*

(5) A Testimony, that *Drusus* had Reason to say, The Goddess Modesty must soon be sought to inspire *Sejanus* with Moderation, to content himself with his good Fortune: His Daughter was bestowed in Marriage to the Son of *Claudius*, and he, not content with so great a Match, which procured him a World of Envy, sought to espouse the Relict of *Dru-*

*sus*, the Sister of *Germanicus* and *Claudius*, and Daughter-in-Law of the Emperor: The People murmur'd at the Intention of Marrying his Daughter, crying, They rais'd a Man whose Ambition was boundless, *Suspictum jam nimis spei Sejanum.* And now we see his own Letters confirm their Surmises, *Hinc initium spei.* An eminent Instance of the Blindness of Favourites, *Oculos habent & non vident*; And, we ought not to wonder their Fall is so sudden.

(6) When a Favourite begs some important Grace, and attended by some Consequences of State, he always alleges the most specious Reasons he can think of to back it.

(1) A Prince, who designs to deny his Favourite or Servant a Request, acts prudently in not refusing it upon the Spot, lest the Repulse be construed as the Effect of Disgust, or ill Humour: A Dilatory uncertain Answer

sequence; since Princes, far different from private Persons, ought not to consult so much the Advantage, (2) as the Grandeur of their Actions (3): That he would not have recourse to General Excuses; and tell him, That he left the Matter for her to consider of, Whether after she had been Wife to *Drusus*, she would admit of another Husband? Or remain a Widow? That he would not refer him to her Mother, or Grandmother, who were more acquainted with the Secret of her Inclinations than himself; but that he would deal more frankly with him (4). In the first place, the Malice of *Agrippina* will have more room to display itself, when once this Marriage shall have divided the Imperial House (5), and the Government, into two Factions: That he did extremely mistake, if he thought she

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Answer must at least persuade him, that the Prince has powerful Reasons, which will not give leave to consent: Besides, that when a Favourite does meet with such Rubs, it is a tacit Admonition to desist.

(2) As private Persons still aim at their own Interest, so Princes ought ever to consult the Publick Benefit in all their Grants. The Cardinal of *Florence*, after *Pope Leo* the Eleventh, express'd himself well to this purpose; The Affairs of private Persons ought to be treated as Private, and the Affairs of Princes and their States, as Royal and Publick. *Cardinal d'Osset, Letter 164.*

(3) Princes support their State and Grandeur more by Reputation, than by all other means whatsoever. *D'Osset, Letter 43. and 173.* A good Re-

putation is exceedingly necessary in Princes, since this alone effects more than the mightiest Armies: They ought to value it more than their own Lives, and sooner hazard any thing, than make a Breach in their Reputation, the least weakning of which opens a Gate to their Ruin. *Testam. Politick, Pag. 2. Chap. 9. Sect. 2.*

(4) When a Prince alleges Reasons to his Subjects, he only lays them under necessity of obeying, since he will never Reason in vain.

(5) As the Fortune of a Prince is firmly established, when his Family is numerous and well united; so his Condition is bad, when Dissensions are once crept in. *Optimi enim corruptio pessima.* Hence Princes ought to be more careful in nothing, than

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

*Agrippina*, and *Livia*, had each Sons, who would undoubtedly be of their Mother's Faction, for their own Interest.

she who had been Wife to the Son of *Tiberius*, and the Grand-son of *Augustus*, would content herself, to spend the remainder of her Days, in the Embraces of a Roman Knight (6): That if himself should admit of this, the World, who had known the Greatness of her Birth, and seen her Father, Brothers, and the rest of her Family, possess of the highest Dignities, would not endure it: That, for his part, he was ready to believe, that *Sejanus* did not entertain any Thoughts of advancing his Fortunes; but that his Greatness had created a Jealousie in the Great Men of *Rome* (7); and that these very Men, who cringed to him, and made him their Divinity (8), murmured publicly to see him so far advanced above the Condition of a Roman Knight, and more powerful than any of the Favourites of *Augustus*: That it was no wonder, to find that Prince labouring under a thousand Distractions, resolving to dispose

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

to avoid all occasions of exciting, or fomenting Differences amongst their Children: For the more Heads, the more Parties and Factions; and these are still more dangerous, since every Man covers himself under the specious Pretence of the Duty they owe to their Master.

(6) If *Julia* had rejected *Tiberius*, as a Match inferior to her high Quality, who was descended of an Ancient and Noble Family, in every respect greater than that of *Augustus*, who was only the Son of a simple Roman Knight; what Treatment might *Sejanus* expect from *Livia*, a Princess of the Imperial Blood, who was only a Provincial Knight? Ambition is in that Sex, the Source of all their Actions. It would be a Prodigy in this Age, to find a Woman like that Roman Lady, mentioned by *Pliny* the Younger, who having Married an Ancient Man, so infirm,

that he could not stir himself in his Bed, made that Marriage honourable by her Constancy, which all the World had censur'd: *Tanto melius de viro merita, quanto magis est reprehensa quod nupserit --- culpam inchoati Matrimonii in Gloriam vertit.* Ep. 18. Lib. 8.

(7) The greater Credit a Minister has with his Master, the more industrious are those who envy his good Fortune to ruin him, and succeed in his place. *Last Chap. of the Political Testament.* The Post of first Minister is always expos'd to the Attempts of Malice and Envy: No Man in that Station ever escaped the Curse of Ambition, Insufficiency, Avarice, Cruelty, Treachery, nay sometimes altogether.

(8) The most certain and ready means to ruin a Favourite, is to idolize him; this soon creates a Jealousie, Adoration, being one of those

Prerogatives,

pose of his Daughter to a Roman Knight, and prefer *Proculeius*, and others, who led a private and retired Life, secluded from all Management of the Publick Affairs (9); especially, since in so doing, he advanc'd them above all other Persons whatever: But in this Case, if we regard the Example of that Prince, we ought to follow his Resolution, not his Debate, who, in fine, bestowed his Daughter on *Marcus Agrippa* first, and then on himself, whom he designed his Successor in the Empire. He added further, That he had no Design to dissemble with a Person he so entirely loved; that he would not oppose himself to his, or *Livia's* Designs: That he would not at that time acquaint him what Fortunes, or what Alliances he intended for him (10): That nothing was too great for his Merits and Zeal; and he should always say the same, as well to the Senate as the People.

## XXXIX. Se-

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

in which Princes will admit no Subject to share: This was the Method which the Spanish Nobility used, to pull down the Cardinal *d'Espinoza*, when their daily Complaints and Libels were infestual: This Expression clearly shews us, that Jealousie began to kindle in the Breast of *Tiberius*.

(9) When Princes intend to Marry their Daughters to their own Subjects, they seek such Persons, who are the least like to give them any disturbance. The Instances are numerous of such Princes, who have been dethroned by the Ambition of their Sons-in-Law, with whom it is a Maxim, to stick at nothing, where a Crown is in prospect: For this Reason, it is an Act of the greatest Folly imaginable, for Princes to match their Children into Families, where Ambition, and a boisterous, turbulent Temper are Hereditary, as in that of the *Guises* in France: This Reflection made the Duke of Anjou,

after *Henry* the Third of France, so much afraid, left Queen *Catharine*, his Mother, should give his Sister *Marguerite* to the Duke of *Guise*, whose Uncles earnestly solicited the Match. *Memoirs of Queen Marguerite. Lib. 1.*

(10) A good Minister ought never to provide for his own Interest, but entertain his Prince with the Affairs of State; but the Prince ought to take Care for him, in order to encourage him to his Duty: He ought to load him with Honours and Riches, that he may find it impossible for him to serve a better Master. *Machiavel, Chap. 22.* of his Prince, And this is so much the more necessary, says *Monsieur de Richelieu*, since there are few Men who love naked Virtue; and the best Means to prevent a Servant taking too much Care of his own private Concerns, is, to practise the Advice of that Emperor, who recommended to his Son, to take care of the Interests of those,

XXXIX. *Sejanus*, alarm'd at this Answer, and more concern'd to know the secret Thoughts of *Tiberius*, than for the Marriage of *Livia*, conjures him not to give Faith to the false Rumors of the Town, and the Calumnies of his Enemies: But fearing the Honours paid him, should on the one side expose him to Envy; and on the other, lest the declining them should weaken his Credit (1), he at last resolv'd upon an Expedition, to perswade *Tiberius* to a Retreat from *Rome*, and a Country Life. He considered well the Advantages he should reap: That by this means, no one should be admitted to Audience, without his Assistance: That all Dispatches would pass through his Hands, since the Soldiers, who were ordinarily the Messengers, were at his Devotion; and that the Emperour, already old and declining, and a Lover of Ease, would easily commit to him the Main Concerns of the Empire (2): That he should be less envied, when the Croud who

came

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

who well minded his. *In the last Section of the first Part of his Politick Testament*. A certain Author has observed, that the Gratitude of *Sextus Quintus*, to Four of his Domesticks, whom he made Cardinals, drew in Five Years a greater Concourse of Men of Merit, than the Ingratitude of that Court had driven away in Two or Three Ages.

(1) Favourites will never let the World see the Diminution of their Credit. *Antonio Perez*, who had been long one, tells us, The Blows of Fortune are more sensible for the Bruises which appear, than for the Pain which they create; and their secret Disgraces affect us more than those which are publick, altho' the other make the deeper Wound. *In the Second of his Second Letters, and one of his First*. *Pagliari* tells us, That the Cardinal *Alexandrin*, Ne-

phew to Pope *Pius* the Fifth, still kept his Credit, and Friends under the Popes, who succeeded his Uncle, wisely avoiding all occasions, where he foresaw it might be discerned, that his Authority was declined; chusing rather to have those who applied themselves to him, doubt of his good Intentions, when he had done nothing for them, than to discover the Defect of his Power by an useless Attempt. *Obs.* 518.

(2) Princes, who love Solitude, hate Business, and by consequence, Application must be made to the Favourite. The Duke d'*Epemon* could never have made himself Master of the whole Authority of the Government, in spite of all the Princes, great Nobility, and Parliaments, but by perswading *Henry III.* to a solitary Life, to possess it all himself, pretending it was a Piece of Majesty to remain

con-

came to make their Court to him, should be lessen'd; and by losing that vain Shadow of Greatness, he should acquire the Real Substance (3). Upon this he begins to declaim against the Noise and Hurry of the Town, the Importunity of Suitors, the Crouds and Throngs of People; and to extol the Ease and Solitude of the Country, where the greatest Affairs might be dispatch'd with the greatest Expedition and Convenience.

XL. By accident, a Cause which hapned at that time to be pleaded, made *Tiberius* resolve to absent himself from the Assemblies of the Senate; where he often heard unpleasing Words, and hateful Truths. *Votienus Montanus*, a Man eminent for his Wit, being accused for contemptuous Words against the Emperour; the Witness, *Emilius*, a Military Man, desirous to make his Deposition good, reported all the Words the other had spoken (1), and cried out the louder he was interrupted. Thus *Tiberius* heard the scandalous Speeches he had privately uttered. Upon which, in a violent Rage (2), he protested, he would purge himself

himself

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

conceal'd; and like the Eastern Princes, never to be known to the People, but by their great Pomp, Magnificence, and absolute Commands. *Mezeray* in his *Henry the Third*.

(3) A plain Demonstration, that some Favourites conceal their Favour and Power, more out of Ambition than Moderation. The Comte Duke d'*Orvares* wisely affected never to give Audience, but to such who before had it of his Master *Philip* the Fourth.

(1) Whoever reports publicly to a Prince the Calumnies and opprobrious Speeches against him, is doubtless as guilty as the Authors of them: For besides that, he reports before Witnesses those things which ought to be conceal'd; this Imprudence is

a want of Respect: If it be a Fault to tell a Prince of his Faults in the Presence of another, it is a greater, in my Opinion, to give others an Account of the Railing, and opprobrious Speeches of discontented Persons.

(2) If a Man shews any Concern at Railing, and opprobrious Speeches, it gives some Credit to them, and shews there is some Truth in them. *Si irascere, agnita videntur*. Upon the occasion of a certain Tribute, which the States of *Castile* granted to *Philip* the Third, an Advocate de *Santa Maria del Campo*, had the Insolence to declaim publicly against the Person and Government of that Prince. Some time after, when he was informed of this Passage, and the Confinement of the Advocate, he

F 4

ordered

self (3) upon the spot, or before the People, and could hardly be appeased by the Flattery of the Senate (4), and the Intreaties of his Friends. *Votienus* was punished as guilty of High-Treason: But the Emperour, growing more cruel by the Reproaches of Cruelty (5) every Day, banished *Aquila*, convicted of Adultery, with *Varus Ligur*, tho' *Lentulus Genulicus*, Consul design'd, had only condemned her to undergo the Punishment appointed by the *Julian Law*<sup>k</sup>: And expelled

*Apidius*

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

ordered him to be set at Liberty, saying, *He must certainly be some Fool, to speak ill of a Prince, whom he never knew, and one who had never done him any harm*: The President of the Council persisting to demand, that he should be made an Example; *Philip* replied wisely, *Et le Pregon*, since he has spoken scandalous Words of me to set him at Liberty. *Cabrera*, *Hist. Chap. 17. Lib. 10.*

(3) If Princes concerned themselves, to justify themselves from all Imputations, they must carry Bears to *Modena*, says *Pagliari*, in his 521<sup>th</sup> *Observ.* Which is a *Florentine* Proverb, importing, the Embarking in an Enterprize, which they shall never see the end of.

(4) It must be very high Flattery that can appease a Prince, incensed

at a notorious Slander. If every Flattery may be justified, it is most certainly in this Case, where it is but in some sort a Reparation of the Injury done.

(5) It is not a proper Means to bring Princes to Clemency, to inveigh against their Cruelty; for the very sight of hearing the Reproaches, and injurious Speeches, without due respect, and sometimes much exaggerated, according to the Custom of the People, forces them to greater Cruelties. *Antonio Perez*, so famous for the great Favour, he was once in with his Prince, and his Disgrace, tells us, That the Complaints which reach the Ears of Kings against themselves are exceeding dangerous, if they are not Men, or God, or rather a little of both.

(1) Pro

#### HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>k</sup> We do not find precisely, what was the Punishment appointed by the *Lex Julia*; but *Cujas*, in the Nineteenth Book of his *Observ.* thinks it was Relegation, founded upon this Law, *Si quis viduam ff. de questionibus*: Where Incest and Adultery together, are only punished with Deportation. *Si quis viduam, vel alii nuptam cognatam, cum qua nuptias contrahere non potest, corruperit, in Insulam deportandus est, quia duplex crimen est, & incestum qua cognatam violavit contra fas, & Adulterium vel stuprum adiungit.* But Relegation was not properly an Exile; because the Relegated did not lose the Rights of Citizens, which the Persons Exiled did. *Deportatus Civitatem amittit: lege 15. ff. de interdictis.*

<sup>l</sup> This

*Apidius Merula*, out of the Senate, for refusing to swear by the Acts of the Emperour *Augustus*.

XLI. After this, the Difference between the *Lacedaemonians*, and the *Messenians*, relating to the Temple of *Diana Limeneris*; which the first pretended to belong to them, as being built in their Country, and by their Ancestors: They alledged as a Proof, the Testimony of their Historians, and ancient Poets; who all assert, That after it was taken from them by *Philip* of *Macedon*, it had been restored to them, by the Appointment of *Julius Caesar*, and *Marc Antony*. The *Messenians*, on the contrary, pretended, That in the ancient Division of *Peloponnesus*, between the Descendants of *Hercules*, *Thuria*, in which Country the Temple was seated, was allotted to their Prince: That there were Monuments of it yet remaining, of Stone and Brass: That in Case the Historians and Poets might have any Credit, they had the best, and the greatest Number on their side: That *Philip* had not decided the Matter by Force of Arms, but by the Justice of the Cause: That his Sentence had been confirmed by *Antigonus*, and *Mummius*, General of the *Roman* Armies; finally, by the Decree of the *Melesians*, chosen by common Consent, for the Arbiters of this Dispute, and *Atidius Genus*, Prætor of *Greece*, had decided it in their Favour. So it went for the *Messenians*. The Deputies of the City of *Segestum*, desired the famous Temple of *Venus*, on Mount *Eryca*<sup>l</sup>, which was fallen with Age, might be

#### HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>l</sup> This was a Temple which *Aeneas* had built in *Sicily*, and dedicated to *Venus*. *Ovid* mentions another Temple, built in *Rome*, and dedicated to *Venus Erycina*.

*Est prope Collinam Templum venerabile portam: Imposuit Templum nomina celsus Eryx.*

The

be rebuilt; and alledging the Tradition of its Founder, so well pleased *Tiberius*, that he undertook it at his own Expence, as being next of Kin to that Goddess<sup>m</sup>. After this, the Deputies of *Marseilles* were heard; who insisting on the Precedent of *Publius Rutilius*, banished from *Rome*, and made Citizen of *Smyrna*; demanded, That they might enjoy the Estate of *Vulcatius Mofcus*; who flying there, after he had been banished *Rome*, had bequeathed his Effects to that Republick.

XLII. This Year died two eminent Persons, *Cneius Lentulus*, and *Lucius Domitius*. *Lentulus*, besides the Honour of the Consulate, and the Triumph of the *Gerula*, had the Glory of living without Reproach in his Poverty, and without Pride in his Wealth (1), which he acquired by lawful Means. *Domitius* derived his Greatness, as well from his own Merit, as that of his Ancestors: For his Father had been Master of the Seas, during the Civil Wars, before he had engaged himself, first for *Anthony*, then for *Cæsar* (2); and his Grand,

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) Prosperity and Adversity are the just Balance, in which the true Value of any Man is found: When a Man has lived without Reproach in a low Fortune, and without Pride in a great one, one may say, he has discharged all the Duties of a civil

Life: But where in this Age shall we find another *Camillus*, who can say, that Dictatorship never exalted his Soul, nor Exile depressed it?

(2) In a Civil War great Men take to a Party, to make themselves more courted, and purchased at a dear

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

The Romans had, in the Month of *April*, a Festival, called *Vinalia*; where, as *Ovid* relates, the common Strumpets sacrificed to *Venus Erycina*.

*Numina* (says he) *vulgares Veneris celebrate puella.*  
*Multa professorum quæstibus apta Venus.*

Fast 4.

<sup>m</sup> By *Aeneas*, Sort of *Anchises*, and *Venus*, a Branch of the Family of the *Julii*, as *Tacitus* observes in the beginning of this Book, *Origo Juliae gentis Aeneas*: For this Reason *Julius Cæsar* built a Temple in *Rome*, to *Venus Genetrix*, and *Augustus* erected in that Temple, a Statue of Brass, which he dedicated to *Cæsar*.

Grand-father slain in the Battle of *Pharsalia*, fighting for the Liberty of his Country: For his part, being pitched on for the Husband of younger *Antonia*, Niece to *Augustus*, and after sent to Command the Legions in *Germany*, he carried our Arms beyond the *Elb*, and pierced farther into remote Countries, than any of the preceding Generals had done: For these Exploits he obtained the Honour of a Triumph. *Lucius Antonius*, of an illustrious, but unfortunate Race, died likewise this Year. His Father, *Julius Antonius*, had been punished with Death (3), for debauching *Julia*, the Daughter of *Augustus*; and *Augustus*, his Great-Uncle, had sent him young to *Marseilles*, covering his Exile under the specious pretext of following his Studies: Notwithstanding which, he had all Honours done to him at his Decease; and by Order of the Senate, his Bones were lodged in the Sepulcher of the *Octavii* (4).

XLIII. Under

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

dearer Rate by another. In the Minority of the King divers Princes and Lords lifted themselves amongst the *Frondeurs*, that so they might be more wanted by the Court, and to make themselves deserve the better, for deserting a Party which they pretended to espouse: Others were at one time *Frondeurs*, then again *Maximins*, as they found made most for their Interest. *Commines* speaking of the good League, or the War made by the Princes and Nobility against *Lewis* the Eleventh: Every day, says he, they made their petty Markets, buying Men over to one side or another, and to lessen each others Number: There were several Meetings at *Grange-aux-Merciers*, to Treat of Peace. — Never a Day but Ten or Twelve Men went over to the Leaguers; then again another as many deserted to us; and for this

sort of Trade, this Place retained the Name of *le Marche*. Chap. 1. Book 1. of his *Memoirs*.

(3) It is a Misfortune incident to Great Men, that their Faults they commit are personal: The Vindictive Humour of Princes seldom ending with the Punishment of their Author: Thus, it is no surprize to see so many Illustrious Families lead an obscure, languishing Life; and which is worse, without any hope of mending their Fortune, without a Miracle.

(4) The Honours, which Princes suffer to be paid to the Memory of a Great Man, who has been ill treated during his Life, is a certain Mark of his Innocence. Those Honours which all the People of *Rome* paid to *Don Bartelemy de Caramca*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, though *Gregory* the Thirteenth then in the Chair, had pronounced

XLIII. Under the same Consuls, a Peasant, in the Country of *Termeste*, in the *Hispania Citerior*, committed a most enormous Fact, and killed, at one Blow, *Lucius Piso*, Governour of the Province (1), as he was travelling in the midst of a profound Peace, without the least apprehension of Danger: The Assassine, when he had given the fatal Blow, fled to the Woods, and by the fleetness of his Horse, made his Escape; where, alighting, and going through craggy Precipices, and inaccessible Places, he evaded the Diligence of the Pursuers. But his Horse being taken, and led through the neighbouring Villages, he was at last discovered, and put to the Torture, in order to discover his Accomplices. He suffered the Torture with an admirable Constancy, crying out, in the Language of the Country, His Friends might appear freely, without fearing his Pains should extort any thing from him, to their prejudice (2). The next Day, as they were carrying

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

nounced a Sentence against him, shew us, that neither that Pope, nor the Inquisition of *Rome*, thought that Prelate had erred in the Faith. *Don Juan Antonio de Vera* tells us, That upon the Day of his Interment, all the Shops were shut, as upon the most Solemn Holiday; and all the World flock'd to kiss his Body, as if he had been another *St. Athanasius*. *Epitomy of the Life of Charles the Fifth*. And *Cabrera* adds, That *Gregory* himself, touched at his Humility and Patience, honoured him with this Epitaph: *Bartolomeo Caranica, Dominicano, Archiepiscopo Toletano, Hispaniarum Primate, Genere, Vita, Doctrina, Concione, atque Elementis claro, magis muneribus a Carolo V. & Philippo Rege sibi commissis egregie functo: animo in Prosperis modesto, & in Adversis equo. Obiit Anno. M. D. LXXXVI. Die Secundo*

*Martii, Athanasio sacra. Chap. 2. Book 2. of his Philip the Second.*

(1) It is a great Imprudence in a Governour of a Conquered Province, in which he had exercised some Violence, as *Piso* had done, to Travel the Country without a Guard suitable to his Dignity; and he who has Enemies every where, ought ever to be upon his guard.

(2) Tho' in the Tree of Nature there are some Branches higher than others, yet all Souls have the same Nobleness in their Original: And by Consequence, we must not be astonish'd to find Peasants with a Courage as great and undaunted as Princes, or great Generals: There are *Alexanders* who are not Kings, says *Antonio Perez*, as there are Kings who are no *Alexanders*. *Aphorisms after his Relations.*

(3) A

rying him to the Torture, by a violent struggle, he forced himself out of the Hands of the Guards, and run his Head against a Wall with that violence, that he died the very Instant. This Murther was done by procuration of the *Termestians*, to Revenge themselves on *Piso*; who had exacted too rigorous an Account of the Publick Monies (3).

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(3) A Prince, saith *Commines*, ought to have an exact Care what Governours he places in a Country newly reduced to his Obedience: They ought to treat them with so much Mildness and Moderation, that they may have Reason to like the Present more than the last: Upon a young Horse an old Rider, says his Commentator; that is, one that can manage him with gentleness. *Chap. 84.* If *Charles of Anjou*, King of *Naples* and *Sicily*, had placed in the principal Cities of that Conquered Kingdom Governours, like *William Percelet*, a Provincial Gentleman, to whom the *Messinese* gave his Life and Liberty, for the Reputation of his Mildness and Moderation, perhaps there never had been any *Sicilian Vespers*, and the *French* had been still Masters of that Country. The Card. d'Ossat answering Monsieur de Villeroi upon an Order, that the King had sent him to sollicite the Expedition of a Brief, to raise a certain Sum of Money upon the Benefices of *Bresse*: It would be better perhaps (says he) that his Majesty would forbear railing in such manner upon his Subjects, which are not yet well incorporated and united to the Crown, not to regret their old Master, and think their past Condition better under the Dukes of *Savoy*, than their present under the Kings of *France*. *Letter 324.*

THE

## THE

## Year of ROME, 779.

XLIV. **U**nder the Consulate of *Lentulus Getulicus*, and *Cajus Calvisius*, the Honours of Triumph were given to *Poppeius Sabinus*, for having defeated certain People of *Thrace*, who, by advantage of the Mountains, made several Insults on us: Besides, the savage and mutinous Humour of that People, who obeyed their own Kings no longer than they listed, would only fight against their own Neighbours, and under the Command of Captains of their own choice: They were extremely disgusted, to have their Youth, and the most vigorous Men of their Country, listed in our Armies: But that which determined them to rebel, was a Rumor diffused amongst them, That a Design was on foot, to transplant them into a Foreign Country (1), and disperse them amongst other Nations. However, before they sent their Delegates to represent,

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) It is an effectual Method to bring haughty Spirits to a due Obedience, to disperse them amongst other Provinces, or in well-disciplined Armies, under Pretence of Instructing them in the Art of War. We have taken a Resolution, says the *Conde Duke d'Olivarez*, to send a certain Number of *Catalans* to serve out of their Country, to instruct them how far they are obliged to fight in their own, and the De-

fence of the Kingdom: It is my Opinion, that seeing other Countries, they will learn their Duty by the Example of his Majesty's other Subjects; for in the manner they live at present, they are of no use to the Monarchy, neither serving the King in their Persons, or with their Estates. In a Letter to the Count de Santa Coloma, *Viceroy of Catalonia*, Tome 4. of the *Memoirs of the Ministry of Cardinal de Richelieu*.

(2) A

sent, That it was their Resolution to remain firm to their Duty and Obedience, if they did not impose any new Alterations on them; but if they must be treated like Slaves, and vanquished Persons, they had both Men and Arms to defend their Rights, and would sooner lose their Lives, than their Liberty (2); and, shewing their Castles on the Rocks, where their Fathers, and Wives, were secured from all Attempts upon them, menaced us with a bloody and tedious War.

XLV. *Sabinus* kept them in Parley, whilst he assembled his Army; but so soon as *Pomponius* was arrived from *Messia*, with a Legion, and King *Rhemetalces*, had brought in the *Thracians*, who persisted in their Duty; he marched against them with all his Forces, and found them retrenched in their Avenues; except some few of the more daring, who were incamped open upon the Hills: But they were soon driven out by our Soldiers, tho' without any great loss, the Retreat being near. The *Romans* incamping in the same place, made themselves Masters of the adjacent Mountain, whose straight plain top, extended itself to a Fort, where the Enemy had secured their Women and Children: Whence a select Detachment of Archers were sent, to chastize the Insolence of some of those barbarous People, who were dancing and leaping with great Hollowings, and Shouts, after the Custom of the Country. Our Men, without coming to Hand-blows, wounded several

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(2) A Prince may impose such Laws and Duties as he pleases on People, whom he has reduced by Force of Arms; but he ought not to use those to whom he has reduced, who have voluntarily received him for their Master, and who ever have enjoyed the Liberty of a Re-

publican Government, unless they abuse it, as often happens: For in such Case, the Prince has a Right to break their Privileges, as the Duke of Burgundy did to the *Gantois*, who made use of them, to infringe his Power, and keep him under Tuition.

(1) There



several ; but at last approaching too near, the Enemy made a Sally upon them ; which put them into great Disorder, if they had not been sustained by a Cohort of the *Sicambre*, that the General had posted near a People, as formidable as the *Thracians*, for their Hallowing, Shouting, and Clashing their Arms.

XLVI. After that, they approached nearer to the Enemy, leaving in the first Retrenchments the *Thracians*, which were come to our Aid, with permission to ravage, burn, and plunder ; provided they ended them with the Day, and kept good Guard at Night : Which was observed well at first ; but after, growing rich with the Booty of the Enemy, they abandoned themselves to all manner of Debauchery, without providing for their Safety. The Enemy having Notice of this Disorder, divide their Troops into two Bodies ; one of which was to fall on the Out-Guards Party, and the other to attack the *Roman* Camp ; not so much with a Design to carry it, as to hinder, by their Noise and Shout, our Men, employed in defending their own Camp, from hearing the Noise of the other Attack ; and the Night-time was pitched on, to augment the Terror : But those who attacked us, were easily beaten off ; but the *Thracian* Auxiliaries, being some out of their Works, others surprized at the sudden Attack, were cut to pieces without Mercy, as Deserters and Traitors, who took up Arms to enslave their Country.

XLVII. The next Day, *Sabinus* ranged his Army in Battle, in a level Place, to try, whether the Enemy, blown up with their Success, would hazard a Battle : But when he saw they kept themselves in the Intrenchments, or encamped on the neighbouring Mountains, he resolved to besiege them, and to continue the Works he had begun, and cast up several others ; which he afterwards joyned with a Line of Circumvallation, of four Miles in Circuit : He made his

his Approaches by little and little, to cut the Enemy off the Convenience of Water and Forrage. After he raised Batteries, for the flinging of Stones, Fire-works, and Javelins, amongst the Enemy. But nothing incommoded this barbarous People more than Thirst ; there being but one Spring to supply so great a Multitude : Besides, the Stench of their Cattel, promiscuously mix'd with them, according to the Custom of the Country ; and the Bodies of those dead of Thirst, or their Wounds, every-where, infected the Air. To fill up the Measure of their Misfortunes, the Difference of Opinion was added, Whether they should die, or surrender ? Several were for attempting a Generous Sally ; and the principal were of that Mind, tho' they could not all agree.

XLVIII. But *Dinis*, an experienced Commander, who had made Tryal of the *Roman* Valour and Clemency, was for laying down Arms ; and to Authorize his Advice, by his Example, came and surrendered himself to us, with his Wife and Children. He was followed by the weaker Age and Sex, and those who preferred Life to Honour : But the Youth, desirous to perish with their Liberty, were divided into two Parties, between *Tarsa* and *Turesis* ; both declar'd they would perish with their Liberties : *Tarsa* crying, They must end both their Hopes and Fears by a speedy Death ; ran his Sword through his Body, and was imitated by several. *Turesis*, and his Men, expected the Night, to make a Sally : But our General having Notice of the Design, reinforced the *Corps de Gard*. When the Night began, which was accompanied with a horrible Storm, we could not tell what to think of the Enemy's Intention ; who sometimes would make horrible Outcries, then again keep a profound Silence : But *Sabinus*, going his Round, encouraged his Men, and admonished them to keep upon their Guard, for fear of Surprize ; and not to quit their Posts,

or break their Ranks, or spend their Javelins in vain.

XLIX. At length the Enemy came down from the Hills, in Bodies, and attack'd our Camp; others flung Bridges over, planted Ladders, demolished the Works, and attacked those who defended them. The Roman Soldiers opposed to their Effort, their Javelins, Bucklers, and rowled down massy Stones on the Assailants. The Barbarians on the one side were encouraged by the necessity of Fighting for their own Preservation (1), and the greatest part by the Cries of their Women and Children (2), who accompanied them; and our Men, with the certain Hopes of Victory, and the Infamy of Cowardize, if they should lose so fair an Occasion: The Night was favourable to both Parties; to the one, to make them more Daring; to the other, to hide their Fear: No Man knew whence their Blows came, or discern'd Friends from Foes. The Cries of the

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) There is no stronger Motive to fight, than the Necessity to Conquer or Die.

(2) As nothing is more capable of flattering the Vanity of Women, than the Honour of having Valiant Men for their Husbands, because it draws a greater Respect on them; so nothing is more proper to inspire the Love of Glory to Men of Warlike Tempers, than the Love they bear to the fair Sex, whose Esteem and good Graces they would gain: Although that Sex be naturally Weak and Voluptuous, and that Men who are most addicted to their Conversation, are for the most part soft and effeminate; yet in past Ages there have been brave and valiant Women, in whose School great Commanders have been formed: Doubtless the Duke d'Alva's Lady was

one of that Character, when he sent his Son word, That if he raised the Siege of Harlem, and did not continue it till he had taken the Place, notwithstanding his present Indisposition, he would be carried thither; and if he chanced to die, he would have the Duchess his Lady sent for out of Spain in his Stead. Don Bernardino de Mendoza, Chap. 12. Book 9. of his General Commentary of the Wars of the Low Countries. Posterity will eternally celebrate the Glory of Donna Philippa de Vilhena, and of Donna Antonia de Silva, who, on the Day when the dangerous Attempt was made, for Re-establishing the Duke of Braganza on the Throne of Portugal, Armed their Sons themselves, and charged them to spend the last Drop of Blood, to Extripate the Spanish Tyranny.

(3) The

the Enemy returned by the Eccho of the Valleys (3), amazed several of the Romans, who thought the Enemy was behind them, and had taken the Retrenchments: They retreat; but this Advantage was but of little use to the Barbarians; the most valiant were either killed or wounded, and the rest repuls'd, at the Break of Day, to the top of the Hill, where they were forced to surrender themselves: The neighbouring Castles did the like; and the Winter being advanced, and more terrible by the Nighbourhood of Mount Helmus, hindred them from putting an End to the War, and taking those Forts that remained in the Hands of the Enemy.

L. In the mean time, the Imperial House was disturbed with Dissentions; and to begin the Ruine of Agrippina, Domitius Afer, lately Prætor, and ready to engage in any thing to gain himself Credit, accuses Claudia Pulcra (1) of Adultery with Furnius, and to have a Design on the Life of that Prince, with her Charms and Person. Agrippina, always of a violent Temper, but at present extremely enraged, runs immediately to Tiberius, whom she found sacrificing to Augustus; whereupon she cries out, 'Twas strange, the same Man could sacrifice to the Divine Augustus, and persecute his Children; that it was not in those dumb Statues, that his Divine Spirit resided; but in the living

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

(2) The Ignorance which prevails amongst Soldiers, has been the Cause of many Defeats, for having taken Right at several Things purely imaginary: Thus, Commanders and other Generals have often occasion for a great Presence of Mind, to remedy upon the Spot every panick Fear, by some ingenious Interpretation of those Accidents, which happen out every Day.

(1) When a Prince intends to ruine a Great Man, a Minister, or a Favourite, he ordinarily begins with those who follow his Fortunes, to deprive him of the Assistance of those who might furnish him with the Means to support himself. In this manner Cardinal Mazarin destroy'd the Credit of the Duchess of Chevreuse with the Queen-Regent, to take away the Support of that Lady to Monsieur de

ving Images, formed, of his Celestial Blood (2), and sensible of Pleasure and Pain: That it was in vain they made *Claudia* the Object of their Malice, whose greatest Crime was, that she loved *Agrippina*, without considering how *Sofia* had been treated upon the like Occasion. These sharp Words touched *Tiberius* very sensibly, and made him vent his Passion, in this Greek Verse, to this purpose, That her great Uneasiness was, she could not Govern (3). Notwithstanding this, *Furnius* and *Claudia* were condemned, and *Domitius*, after, ranked amongst the principal Orators; *Tiberius* saying, The Title of Eloquent could not in Justice be denied him, after he had given such ample Testimony of his Wit. After that time, by divers Accusations and

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## POLITICAL REMARKS.

*Chasteaufeuf*, who had a Design to gain a Part of the Ministry: For this Reason likewise, the Spanish Nobility procur'd the Generalship of the Armies to be taken from the Marquis de *Leganez*, in order to get the Conde Duke d'*Olivarez* his Patron remov'd, who had the whole Direction of Affairs.

(2) Complaints and Reproaches are not Figures of Rhetorick proper to work upon Princes: However good a Subject's Cause may be, he must only use Prayers and Remonstrances, otherwise all the Equity and Justice will be on the Prince's side: It is not an Action of Courage to speak too plainly to a Prince; it is rather a piece of Impudence and ill Breeding: The more any Person is in his right Senses, the less capable he is of saying any thing exceeding the Respect due to his Superiors, however great the Wrong be which is done him: Respect ought to be like the Sight, or the other Senses, which however the Object be wanting, retain the Power of exerting themselves: Thus, although a Prince may do us Inju-

stice, the Obligation to pay him all due Respect, does not cease. In his Letter to the Curious. *Agrippina* committed two great Faults upon this occasion, of which *Tacitus* speaks here; the one, That she fail'd in her Respect to *Tiberius*; the other, That she insulted him in the Time of his Devotion; add to all this, That Offences committed by Princes of the Blood are more dangerous, by Reason of the Greatness of the Example. *Cabrera* tells us, That *Philip* the Second never pardoned such sorts of Injuries: For, says he, if the Want of Respect in a Person, whom we do not know, merits to severe a Punishment, what Treatment must they have who being related to a Prince, and by Consequence more strictly obliged to Honour him, have the Boldness to fail in their Respect? Chap. 16. Book 5. of his History.

(3) In odious Matters, the shortest Answer is still the best: And that of *Tiberius* to *Agrippina*, was the more excellent, since it struck her to the quick, and her own Conscience justified the Truth of the Reproach.

(4) Elo-

Defences, he acted more to confirm that Title, than to acquire that of an Honest Man (4): But his Age diminished much the Opinion of his Eloquence (5), when he had no longer Power to hold his Tongue, nor Ability to Speak.

LI. But *Agrippina* falling sick of Spite and Resentment, *Tiberius* came to visit her; she had not the power to speak to him, being overwhelmed with Grief; but at last venting her Passion by her Tears, she brake Silence, and conjur'd him to take Pity on the Widow of *Germanicus*, and her Children: That she was yet young; and, that Virtuous Women could have no Comfort, but in an agreeable Husband: That the City afforded suitable Matches: That no one but would gladly marry the Widow of *Germanicus*, with her Children. But *Tiberius*, who very well knew the Consequence of this Demand (1), neither to discover his Fear

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(4) Eloquence is a dangerous Talent, when it is joyned to ill Principles. *Paterculus* speaking of a certain Tribune of the People, was very Eloquent, says, That he was born for the Ruin of his Country, who cherish'd his Flame of the Civil War between *Cesar* and *Pompey*. *Bello Civili non ille flagrantior, quam Cæsar Cuius Trib. plebis subiecit facem, vir solus, Eloquent, & Facundus malo Publico*. Hist. 2. Cap. 48.

(5) There are few Men of so hard Temper, but that Age abates and destroys the Vigour of the Mind: Now, many Preachers and Pleaders at the Bar do we daily see, who shew the World, they are again become Children: Upon this side they are doubtless very Prudent, who, to preserve their Reputation they had gain'd in the Pulpit, leave off Preaching as soon as they are made Bishops.

(1) Princes have a Right to hinder

such Marriages, as they suspect Prejudicial to their Interests. *Solomon* did not only hinder his Brother from Marrying *Abishag*, but put him to Death, as for a Crime of State: Wherefore demand you *Abishag*? said he for *Adonijah*. Why do you not also demand the Kingdom for him? If Princes are the Nursing Fathers of their People, they have a Right to hinder Great Men from Marrying without their Consent, with more Justice than Fathers of Families, may oppose the Marriage of their Children, since the Publick Welfare is of greater Consequence, than the Private Interest of some few particular Persons. Pope *Paul* the Fifth forbid, by a Brief, the Wife of *Alcanio Colonna*, to marry any of her Daughters without his Permission, lest that Lord should fortifie himself in his Revolt by the Assistance of those, who should become his Sons-in-law.

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Fear nor Displeasure, left her without any Answer, tho' she importuned him with abundance of Instance, I extracted this Passage out of the Memoirs of her Daughter *Agrippina* (2), the Mother of *Nero*, who has related the Adventures of the Family (3).

LII. On the other side, *Sejanus*, whilst the Princess was in the midst of her Affliction, gives her a new Alarm (1); by his Emisaries; who, under colour of Friendship, advertis'd her, that there was a Design to poison her; and that she should take Care of Eating with *Tiberius*. This Princess being free from these Artifices

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

*Fra Paula*, in the Eighth Book of his Council of Trent. *Henry*, Duke of *Anjou*, who was afterwards King, had all the Reason in the World to traverse the Marriage of his Sister *Marguerite* to the young Duke of *Guise*, since that Ambitious Family aspired, by this Means, one Day, to make their Pretensions to the Crown. *Monlieur de Montresor*, who belonged to the late Duke of *Orleans*, holds the Negative, to justify the Clandestine Marriage of his Master, alledging, That all the necessary Ceremonies were performed, and that the Court objected the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, which were never committed to Writing, but purely imaginary. But the Example of *Solomon*, who began his Reign with that Action, Manner, and the unanimous Consent of all Sovereign Princes, who practise the same is equivalent to any written Law: And if *Monlieur de Montresor* had been reconciled to the Court, and the Ministry of Cardinal *Richelieu*, I doubt not, he would have defended the Right side as eagerly as he has done the Wrong.

(2) When an Historian relates a singular Fact, which has been omitted by the Writers of the Times when it happen'd, he ought always to cite

his Authority, lest the World think he sees those things, which no Body can discern besides himself: A thing which utterly ruined the Reputation of a Modern Authour, whose Works are stuffed with particular Translations, which he had extracted out of Manuscripts, communicated to him, upon promise of keeping them secret.

(3) It is not an Employment unworthy a great Prince, to write the Memoirs of his Life, and if those who are able, would undertake it, a thousand Things of Consequence which are lost would be preserved, which would afford great Help to an Historian. It was for this Reason, *Sultan de Zizim*, who came to *France* in the Reign of *Charles* the Eighth, and was poisoned by Pope *Alexander* the Sixth, wrote himself the Reign of *Mahomet* the Second, his Father. The Cardinal *Richelieu* tells us, He had begun the Reign of *Lewis* the Thirteenth, for fear, lest several Circumstances should be buried in Oblivion, which none besides himself could come to the Knowledge of; and that he had not quitted that Work, but that his constant Indisposition, and the Weight of the Publick Affairs would not give him leave to continue it.

(1) It is natural to Persons under unfortu-

nities herself (2), suspected not the Design: And being one Day at Table with the Emperour, stood without giving one Word (3), or touching the Meat; the Emperour chancing to observe, or being informed of it, to discover the Truth, after having commended some Fruit served up, presented some into her Hand. This augmented her Diffidence (4), and she gave it to the Servants, without ever tasting it. *Tiberius* said nothing to her; but turning to the Empress, his Mother, *Well*, says he, *who can blame me, if I treat a little roughly, a Woman who shall take me for a Poisoner?* Whereupon a Rumor was immediately raised, that there was a Design to take her off; but that *Tiberius* was afraid to act publicly, and resolved to do it clandestinely.

LIII. But

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

unfortunate Circumstances, to be credulous and fearful.

(2) Women are not capable of dissembling, when Passion and Prejudice are Masters of their Heart.

(3) It is ordinary to capricious Women to run from one Extremity to another; they affect to be silent when they should speak, and take Pleasure to speak when they ought to be silent. The *Spaniard* who has translated and Commented on *Comenius*, tells us, That one of his Friends had said pleasantly, that those fine virtuous Women were very Devils, who, for being honest, were intolerable, and thought then every thing else might be dispensed. *Note* Chap. 136. This seems to be the Case of *Agrippina*, in whom Virtue and Humour were equally match'd.

(4) Diffidence is a sort of Worm that always preys upon the Vitals of Princes: It is a Malady so difficult to cure, that the very Remedies make it incurable, especially in Women, who are more susceptible of any Im-

pression than Men. Cardinal *Richelieu* makes a Portrait of *Marie de Medicis*, in whom this Fault is well represented, the Respects, and extraordinary Devoirs which the Cardinal paid her (they are his own Words) and his incredible Constancy to honour and serve her, passed in her Mind for profound Diffimulations: The evident Fallacy of the Calumnies, they charged him with, made all the Authors use all Precautions to conceal themselves, knowing otherwise their Forgeries must be detected: They persuaded the Queen, that the Cardinal was such a Man, that if he once came to know what they accused him of, he would so disguise it, that Black should appear White, and nothing of Truth be ever known: She treated those alike that told her a Calumny, and those that told her the Truth: She kept the one and the other, and this gave every one Liberty to relate what they thought fit without Fear. *Memoirs of his Ministry*.

LIII. But *Tiberius*, to shew the Falsity of such Rumours came every Day to the Senate, where he gave a long Audience to the Deputies of *Asia*, who disputed amongst themselves, where they should build the Temple which was decreed to him: Eleven Cities pretended to this Honour, with equal Ambition, altho' unequal in Power, and alledged the same Things, relating to the Antiquity of their Origine, the Services they had done to the Roman People in the Wars of *Perseus*, *Aristonicus*, and other Kings: But those of *Trulle*, and *Hypæ*, were soon discharged, as unworthy of that Honour, as well as those of *Laodicea*, and *Magnesia*. The City of *Ilium* had nothing for it, but the Glory of giving its Origine to *Rome*. Those of *Halicarnass*, alledged with more Reason, That their City had had no Earthquake in Two hundred Years, and that the Temple should be built upon the Rock. *Pergamus* had much the same Advantage. There remained only *Sardis* and *Smirna*; for *Ephesus* and *Miletum*, were employed in the Service of *Apollo*, and *Diana*. Those of *Sardis* produced an Ancient Decree of the *Tuscans*, where they own them for their Allies: For *Tyrrhenus* and *Lydus*, Sons of King *Atrops*, dividing themselves, because the People grew numerous; the first settled in the Country, and the latter went to try his Fortune in *Italy*. Each Nation took the Name of Conductor; the *Lydians* after encreasing, planted Colonies in *Peloponnesus*: They produced very favourable Letters from the Generals of our Armies, and Treaties made with our Ancestors, during their Wars in *Macedonia*: Besides, they alledged the excellent Temper of the Air, the Riches of the neighbouring Country, the Fertility and Plenty of their Country, watered with variety of Rivers.

LIV. Those of *Smirna*, after they had lightly passed over their Origine, whether *Tantalus*, Son of *Jupiter*, was their Founder; or *Thesens*, Son of *Neptune*; or one

one of the *Amazons*; for their Historians are not agreed on the Matter; they came to the most important; which was the Services which they had done to the Roman People, in assisting them with Vessels, not only in the Foreign Wars, but in those of *Italy*: They added, That they were the first who had built a Temple to the City of *Rome*, under the Consulate of the old *Cato*, when it was not arrived to that Grandeur it then was, before the Ruine of *Carthage* (1), and the Conquest of *Asia*. They related the Testimony of *Sylla*: How in a certain sharp Winter, when our Soldiers were almost starved with Cold, for want of Cloaths; so soon as the News was brought to *Smirna*, the People then assembled, put their own Cloaths off, to cloath our Legions (2). Upon this they were preferred; and by the Advice of *Vibius Marsus*, a Senator was joyned with *Lentulus*, Governour of the Province, to take Care of the Structure of the Temple; and because *Lepidus*, out of Modesty, refused to nominate his Assistant, it was put to the Lot; and *Valerius Naso* was sent.

## LV. At

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) Princes think themselves but little obliged by the Honours done to them; for besides that, they esteem these things as in some sort due to them, they know they proceed from Flattery and Interest more than Affection; on the contrary, they love to do Honour to those who have served them in their private Fortune, particularly in their Adversity, or at a time when they had no Expectation to mount the Throne: Upon this Ground, it is, That Monsieur d'Ossat, complains of the Chicanes, and Vexation of the Government of *Belesm*, where a Prior represented to the King, that he had served his Majesty long time before his coming to the Crown, and been often in Dangers

for him, without having since the Honour to be his Minister; it was a Piece of Justice to treat him at least as well as one of the Leaguers, which came last into his Obedience.

(2) The Services done to Princes never appear Great, but in the Juncture which most requires them: That of *Philip de Commines* done to *Lewis* the Eleventh, shut up in the Castle of *Peronne*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* would have killed him, if he had found those about him, ready to advise his Death, was in my Opinion, the principal Cause of all the Credit which he had after with that Prince. See Chap. 2. Book 2. of his Memoirs.

LV. At last the Design so long premeditated, of leaving *Rome*, was put in Execution, under colour of dedicating a Temple to *Jupiter*, in *Capua*, and another to *Augustus*, in *Nola*; but with a firm Resolution to absent himself for a long time. Altho' I have ascribed this Departure to the Artifices of *Sejanus* (1), according to the general Opinion of Historians; yet, when I consider this Absence was continued the space of six Years, after his Death, I doubt, whether I ought not to impute it to the Shame of exposing his criminal Pleasures to the View of Mankind. Some think, he was ashamed in his Age, having a great, lean, withered Body, and crooked (2); Bald-head, Copper-face, often patch'd, and daub'd with Oyntments (3): For the rest, he had a Custom, during his abode at *Rhodes*, to avoid all Company, and act his Pleasures in private. Add to this, that he would not have his Mother a Partner

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) It is the common Misfortune of Favourites, that the ill Resolutions of their Princes, are ascribed to them, tho' very often, they counsel the contrary to what they are the reputed Authors: It is sometimes their Advantage to Fall, since the ill Conduct of their Masters after their Fall, serves to make a Reparation of their Honour. The Manner that *Henry* the Third governed, after he had banished from his Court the Count de *Gbi-verny*, and the Three Secretaries of State, *Villeroy*, *Brulart*, and *Pinart*, his ancient Servants, made their Apology to the People, who thought them the Authors of all those Edicts for raising of Money, which had been Published.

(2) As tall Stature, says *Hippocrates*, is comely in Youth, it is very inconvenient in Age, and renders Men more disagreeable than Little-ness, *Incurviscit enim senescentibus,*

says *Galen*, *sitque grave & molestim onus.*

(3) As Princes grow more Infirmary or lose the Graces of Body, they affect Solitude: If private Men take so much Pains to conceal their bodily Defects, we cannot wonder to find Princes exceedingly Nice, who know the People take a Pleasure to controul them. *Cabrera* tells us, That *Philip* the Second, near the End of his Life, would not suffer himself to be seen, but by the Officers of the Household, Ambassadors, or Persons who entertain him with Matters of Piety, lest the People should see how much the Gout had ruined his Body, and his Age should diminish his Authority. At the End of the Fifth Book of his Hist. Amongst the Reasons, which *Charles* the Fifth alledged, to justify his Abdication, he tells us, The Weight of so many States, and Business, required Feet and Hands too

free

Partner of the Throne (4), and that he could not justly deny her a part of the Empire, who had given him all: For *Augustus* would have adopted *Germanicus*, his Nephew, a Man agreeable to all the World; but overcome with the Entreaties of his Wife, he adopted *Tiberius* in his stead, and obliged *Tiberius* to adopt him. The Empress seemed to reproach him with that Favour, and requested it for her Son.

## LVI. Few

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

freer than his, which the Gout had enervated. *Don Juan Antonio de Vera* in the Epitomy of his Life. *Commines* tells us, That *Mahomet* the Second, who had Conquered Two Empires, and Four Kingdoms, happening to fall Sick, kept himself close in his Chariot for fear, lest the People seeing him in so feeble a Condition, should take occasion to contemn him. In the last Chap. of his Memoirs. This puts me in Mind of what a certain Critick writes of *Agesslaus*, King of *Sparta*, who refused the Statues erected to him by the *Astiaticks*, To deprive Posterity of the Knowledge of his Ugliness and Littleness.

(4) Authority is a Thing of which

Princes are so Jealous, that however they stand indebted to those who assisted them in gaining it, it would be a Weakness that deserved Contempt and Laughter, to suffer any to enjoy a Share, under Colour of Gratitude, for so great a Favour: Princes have other Means to serve their Friends whom they may recompense, without admitting them to the Helm, which the Sovereign has only Right to manage. Thus the Cardinal d'Este, when he reproached *Sisto Quinto*, that he had made him Pope, merited well this Answer: *Prithee, let me be so then, and discharge my Duty.*

(1) It

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

*Rafael della Torre* tells us, That it was not *Livia*, that was the Means to prefer *Tiberius* to *Germanicus*, whose Person and Children he loved; as on the other side he hated *Tiberius* for his Arrogance and Cruelty: I cannot, says he, chuse but deliver my Sense in a Matter that has imposed on a *Suetonius*, a *Tacitus*, and where the Diligence of their Commentators seems asleep: It is not to be imagined, says he, that *Augustus* not satisfied with tilting the Publick Liberty, could have a Mind so perverse, to expose his Country to the Insults of a Tyrant, whose Fury must first discharge it self upon the Remains of his Posterity: Necessity had a greater Share in this Affair than Choice. The early Death of his Grandsons *Cajus* and *Lucius*, his own Age far advanced the Fear of being contemned in his latter Days; the Necessity of having a Man of Courage to support his Dignity, obliged him to recal from *Rhodes* a Person, whom he would not permit to return, so long as *Cajus* and *Lucius* lived. For the Space of Twelve Years that he lived beyond their time, he raised *Tiberius*, in the Honour of the Consulate, the Power

LVI. Few Persons attended the Emperour in his Departure; and of the Senators, I only find *Cocceius Nervæ* mentioned, who had been Consul, a Man learned in the Roman Law; and amongst the Knights, *Sejanus*, and *Curtius Atticus*; the rest of his Train were Men of Letters, and most of them *Greeks*, to divert him with their Conversation (1). The Astrologers gave out, *He had left Rome under a Constellation, which shewed he should never return.* A Prognostick fatal to its Authors

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) It becomes Sovereign Princes to converse sometimes with Men of Learning, but the Pleasure of that Conversation ought not to degenerate into a high Passion for Letters; nothing can more disgust them, and maketh them nauseate the Care of Publick Business, which exacts all their Thoughts and Application: He is the most Learned Prince, who understands best the Art of Government; but this Science is not to be learn'd by Reading of Books, nor by Conversation with Men of Letters, but by Experience, Negotiation with Ambassadors, frequent Audiences, where every one comes prepared, the Prince has Matter to Exercise his Attention, Curiosity and Judgment. The King our Master, says *Philip de Commines*, loves to ask, and hear every thing, hath excellent Natural Sense, which surpasses all the Sciences to be learn'd in the World. *Chap. 6. Book 2.* There are three Things necessary to Compose an able Prince; to Ask, to

Hear, and to Judge: It is Prudence to speak little, to hear much, and to profit by all sorts of Advice: The Good are profitable in themselves, and the Bad confirm the Good. *Session 2. of the last Chapter of his Politick Testament.* *Philip* the Second never interrupted any to whom he gave Audience, though some were very tedious; for, said he, beside the discharging my Duty, I receive more Benefit than I give in learning all that I have occasion to know: There needs no other School, nor other Conversation for Princes, who would Reign with Reputation: For this Reason, *Sisto Quinto* refused to buy the Library of Cardinal *Sirlet* for the Cardinal *de Montalto*, his Nephew, whom he would have a great Statesman; saying, That during his Pontificate, his Instructions should be instead of Books to his Nephew. *The First Book of the Second Part of his Life, by C. Let. Clement the Eighth* saying to Cardinal *d'Offat*, *Thou*

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

Power of the Tribunate, gave him the Commandment of the Armies, the Direction of all the Affairs of the Empire; and when the Question of Succession was in Dispute, he was so well established, that he judged it in a manner impossible to Dethrone him by Testament. *Chap. 4. of his Apologia di Stato.*

• At

thors (2), who could never believe he should have been Eleven Years absent out of his Country, and published, he would suddenly die. But this manifested the Vanity and Imposture of that Art (3), and how much we are in the dark, as to the Knowledge of Future Events<sup>b</sup>: For it was true indeed, that *Tiberius* should never return to Rome; but the Circumstances were altogether unknown, nor could any one imagine, that

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

the Men that will kill me, by obliging me to Study in such excessive hot Weather. The Cardinal replied, *That it was the general Report of the Town, that his Holiness studied Night and Morning the Affair of the Marquise of Saluzza*; but he begg'd his Excuse for presuming to say, that did not agree with his Dignity or Age. *Letter 173.*

(2) It is as dangerous to give Credit to the Predictions of the Death of Kings, as to make them; for those who make such like Predictions, seem to expect, and desire the Accomplishment of them. Princes are well enough content to have all manner of Prosperity foretold them; but they cannot endure to have their Lives limited by Astrological Calculations. Pope *Sixtus Quintus* sent to the Galles one *Fabricio Forte*, who boasting that he had foretold his Election, would also Predict the Time of his Death. One *Duval*, a pretended Physician and Astrologer, received the same Treatment, for having Predicted, that *Lewis* the Thirteenth should die in the Year 1631, before the Dog-days.

(3) Astrology is the most vain Science in the World, and keeps up its Credit in the Courts of Princes, only by the idle Curiosity of those, who, instead of applying themselves to useful Methods of Ruling, amuse themselves with these sorts of Revelries, and to explain Enigmatical Expressions, with which this Art is accustomed to involve its Predictions. When *Francis* the First pass'd the Alps, in order to the Conquest of the Duchy of Milan, an Astrologer told him, *He had read in the Stars, that his Horses should be watered in the River of Mancanarez, which is the River of Madrid.* This Promise was fulfilled, but in reverse of the Interpretation which the Courtiers had given it. *Epitomy of the Life of Charles the Fifth, by Don Juan Antonio de Vera.* When they Predicted to *Charles Emanuel*, Duke of Savoy, that in the Year 1600, there should be no King in France; he understood it of the Death of *Henry* the Second; but this King explain'd the Prediction in another manner, by piercing into the very Heart of Savoy.

(1) Some-

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>b</sup> At the opening the Conclave, in which *Paul* the Fifth was elected: A certain Person gave the Cardinal *de Joyeuse* a Billet, containing, that the Pope who should be elected, would be called *Paul*, and should carry in his Arms an Eagle; but it was discovered to be a Cheat, and that this Man had never once thought of the Cardinal *Borghese*, but of the Cardinal of *Ferona*.

that he should pass the Remainder of his Life, in the Neighbourhood only, on the opposite Bank ; and sometimes too, at the very Gates, without ever entering the City.

LVII. In the mean time, an Accident fell out, which augmented these Rumors, and increased the good Opinion *Tiberius* had of his Favourite : For whilst they were eating in a Natural Grotto, between the *Ameykan* Sea, and the Mountains of *Fondi*, in a *Villa* called *The Cavern* ; the Roof fell down and killed divers of the Servants : Upon which all that were at Table, being affrighted, fled ; only *Sejanus*, leaning over the Body of the Emperour, was found by the Soldiers in this posture, sustaining the Roof with his Shoulders, Head, and Hands (1). This admirable and undoubted Fidelity, augmented still his Favour, and *Tiberius* confided more than ever in him, and was governed more than ever by his pernicious Councils, as coming from a disin-

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) Sometimes the Body has a greater Share in the Advancement of Favourites, than the Quality of their Minds : If *Sejanus* had not had a robust Body, he could not have done this piece of Service to *Tiberius*, which endeared him more than all he had done him as his Minister of State. The Emperour *Solyman* chancing to let a Letter fall, which he was reading, as he was leaning over a Balcony, looking into his Gardens, a little Boy, named *Mahomet*, leap'd from the Balcony to the Ground whilst the others ran down Stairs to fetch it : An Action, which so pleased that Prince,

that this Child became his Favourite, and was afterward Grand Vizier under Three Emperors. *Annals*, Book 1. Discourse 9. of his Commentary upon Tacitus. Gracian, Chap. 3. of his Hero. A like Adventure opened a Way to Preferment, *N— de St. Simon*, who was Page to *Lewis* the Thirteenth, who so readily took up his Cloak, and put it on his Shoulders, that one could hardly perceive it had fallen, or that he had alighted : Thus you see two Pages, whose Agility made a great part of their Merit.

(2) If

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

*roma*, a noble *Venetian* of *Valieri*, who had bore an Eagle in his Coat of Arms, who being a proper Person, he thought would be chosen, and take the Name of *Paul*, in Memory of *Paul* the Second, who was the last *Venetian* Pope. *Perronians* under the Title *Astrologers*.

interested Person, and one, the greatest Object of whose Desire, was the Preservation of his Life ; for which he neglected his own Safety : So that instead of an Informer, he was now become Arbiter of the Family of *Germanicus* ; suborning Villains to accuse *Agrippina*, and her Children ; especially *Nero*, the Heir Apparent of the Empire : For altho' this young Prince was very wise and reserved ; yet, notwithstanding, at the Persuasion of his Domesticks, who out of an Ambition, speedily to advance themselves, prest him (2) to give publick Proofs of his Courage and Resolution ; he suffered himself to be transported too far, beyond what the present Juncture of Affairs would admit (3) ; They continually suggesting, *the Army, and the People, desired he should behave himself in that manner ; that Sejanus contemned the Age of Tiberius, and the Youth of his Successor ; that he would not dare to do so, if he vigorously opposed him.*

LVIII. Doubtless, *Nero* had no ill Design, but allowed himself the liberty of inconsiderate Words, tho' his Thoughts and Actions were innocent. All his Discourses

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(2) As vertuous Women, ought to have no Ear for Discourses, their Sparks make, which may prejudice their Honour, though it be never so good Proof against them, because it is ground enough for Slander, the bare giving Ear : So Princes, who have a Crown in view, ought carefully to avoid giving Ear to Murmurs, which their Domesticks, or other Male-contentants make against the Prince upon the Throne ; and in Case, by Ignorance, or ill-will they do otherwise, they expose themselves to a thousand Dangers, which they cannot avoid without a Miracle.

(3) If it be the Custom of Princes always to look with an evil Eye on their Successors, because they think

so great and certain hopes makes them impatiently wish their Death, what Resolutions will they not take, when that Successor has not Prudence enough to dissemble his Sentiments, or to conceal the Desire he has to succeed in his Place ? It was a great Rashness in *Montieur de Puy-laurans* to tell the Ministers of *Lewis* the Thirteenth, That if they put to Death *de Montmorency*, *Montieur* would one time or other be the Death of them ; a Menace, which together with the Conduct of *Montieur* at that time, would have cost him dear, if *Lewis* the Thirteenth had been of the Humour of *Lewis* the Eleventh, or *Henry* the Third. *Politick Testament. Chap. 1.*

(1) It



scourfes were repeated by those who were Spies upon him, and gave them what Turn they pleased, without having liberty given him to juſtifie himſelf: For the reſt, every Day afforded new Matters of Fear: Some avoided his Company (1), others talking with him, immediately broke off the Diſcourſe; others abruptly left him after the firſt Salutation, thoſe about him laughing; who were all the Creatures of *Sejanus* (2); *Tiberius* always Frowning, or with a falſe Smile (3), whe-

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) It is ordinary for Courtiers to avoid the Converſation and Company of thoſe Men they know their Prince, or his Favourite, has an Averſion to. The Court I was to paſs through, ſays the Queen *Marguerite*, was full of People, who uſed to run to pay their Compliments to me; but finding that Fortune had, turned her back, they would take no notice of me. *Book the Second of her Memoirs*. As I addreſs'd my ſelf to ſpeak to them (ſays *Monſieur de Montreſor*) I could not chuſe but obſerve the Care they took to avoid me, which was little leſs than downright Rudeneſs; and by this, I could ſee, that I had diſgusted *Cardinal de Richelieu*; and that both (the *Cardinal de La Valette* and *Batru*) very well knew it. In his *Memoirs*. Of all the Retinue of the *Cardinal (Mazarin)* ſays *Monſieur de La Châtre*, *Noailles*, *Piennes*, and *St. Melgrin*, were the only Perſons that would know, and take notice of me; the *Cardinal de Baſſompierre*, who till that time had profeſs'd ſo much Friendſhip for me, kept himſelf from me, and ſpoke to me with a viſible Fear and Concern upon him; he uſ'd but three Words and left me, as if he apprehended, leſt any Perſon ſhould come in, and find us in Diſcourſe together.

(2) When a Prince, or his Favourites take Pleaſure in the Inſolencies

of Courtiers, thoſe who adore no other Divinity, than the Favour of their Princes, ſpare not the very Princes of the Royal Blood. The Inſults of the Creatures of *Sejanus*, to the Eldeſt Son of *Germanicus*, remind me with how much Boldneſs the Minions of *Henry the Third*, treated the Duke of *Alencon*, his own Brother. *Queen Marguerite* tells us, *Maugiron*, and the reſt of the Cabal, uſed ſuch ſcurrilous Language to him, that no inferior Perſon would have born: They told him, he had loſt his Labour in Dreſſing himſelf to come to the Ball at the Marriage of *St. Luc*; (one of the Minions) that they did not want him after Dinner; that he had taken the Advantage of the Night, for the ſake of his ugly Shape, and low Stature: All which was ſpoken to the new Bride that ſat near him, but ſo loud, that others might hear it. *Book 2. of her Memoirs*. *Gaston*, Duke of *Orleans*, coming to meet the King his Brother at *Orleans*, after the Treaty of *Blais*, was treated with very ſmall Reſpect by thoſe who were near his Maſteſty, and was contemn'd and rail'd at by the *Cardinal*. See his *Memoirs*.

(3) The ſneering Smiles of Princes cut deeper than the Edge of the ſharpeſt Sword, ſays *Antonio Peres*, in his *Aphoriſms*.

(1) En-

whether this Prince ſpoke or not, would have ſomething to object to his Words or Silence: He was not ſafe in his Bed; for his Wife related to her Mother, and ſhe again to *Sejanus*, his very Dreams and Whiſpers. On the other ſide, *Sejanus* had exaſperated his younger Brother againſt him, whom he had drawn to his Party, upon Hopes of preferring him to the Empire, by his Intereſt. For, beſide the Ambition of *Drufus*, and the ordinary Jealouſie of Brothers (4), there was I know not what Deſire of Revenge in him, becauſe the Mother, *Agrippina*, had ſhewn more Affection to *Nero*, who was her eldeſt Son. But *Sejanus* only ſought to ruine *Nero*, by the help of *Drufus*, the better to draw him on to the ſame Precipice (5), well knowing that his raſh and violent Temper, would give him a great many Advantages over him.

LIX. About the end of this Year, died two Great Men, *Asinius Agrippa*, and *Quintus Haterius*; the firſt was of a Race more Illuſtrious than Ancient, and had not at all degenerated in him. The Family of the other had been Senators, and he had been famous for his Eloquence in his Life: But the Works which he has left, have not the ſame Approbation: For as he has more

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(4) Enmity of Brothers is almoſt ever implacable, when the Crown is the Ground of their Difference.

(5) When a powerful Family is ſuſpected by a Prince, and he has a Deſign to ruine it, one of the ſhorteſt Expedients is to ſow Diſſention in it. *Henry the Third*, ſays *Queen Marguerite*, conceived an extream Jealouſie of my Brother *d'Alencon*, being ſuſpicious what might be the Deſign of his Agreement with the King of *Navarre*, and believing me to be the Cement of their Friendſhip, he could find no better Expedient to

ſeparate them, than by breeding a Difference between me and my Huſband; and on the other, to gain *Madam de Sauve*, who was a Friend of them both to manage them, ſo that they might conceive a Jealouſie of each other: And this *Circe*, ſo well play'd her part, as to perſuade the King my Huſband, that I was Jealous of him, and for this Cauſe was for my Brother's Intereſt, in oppoſition to him; and making them both believe ſhe entirely loved them equal, promoted their Diviſion and Ruine. In the Firſt Book of her *Memoirs*.

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(1) There

more Flame than Solid Learning, and more Natural Quickness than Art and Study, that Flame must die extinguish'd with the Author, and is not communicated to his Works, which cannot be animated by the Gesture and Graces of Pronunciation (1); whereas, the elaborate, and well-studied Pieces, will be admired by all Posterity.

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) There are a great many Pleadings and Sermons admired in the Mouths of the Lawyers and Preachers, which appear very flat and insipid, when perused in cold Blood: The Publick has seen Fifteen Sermons ushered in with a pompous Preface, longer, or at least full as long as the Fifteen Discourses, which have not given the Readers much Satisfaction; and I dare assure my self, the Bookseller does not think of a Second Impression. The Mob, says the Author of the *French Theophrastus*, calls Eloquence a Frailty of Talking alone for a long time together, a passionate Gesture, a loud Voice and strong Lungs. Pedants make no distinction between it and the heaping

together Figures, mighty Words, and the good Cadence of the Periods. *Gregorio Leti* tells us, That the Sermons of Father *Montalto*, afterwards Pope, were not so much admired by the Readers, as by his Audience; and that, when he Printed two, which he had pronounced at *Naples* with general Applause, which had not the same Approbation when printed, he took care to expose no more to the publick View. In his *Second Book of the First Part of his Life of Sixto Quinto*. *Marion* the Lawyer had the Talent, when he spoke, to persuade; and when he writ, was no less moving. *Perroniana*.

THE

THE

## Year of ROME, 780.

LX. **U**nder the Consulate of *Marcus Licinius*, and *Lucius Calpurnius*, hapned a Calamity, in which we sustained as great a Loss as in the greatest Defeats, tho' it was all done in an instant. One *Atilius*, of the Race of the Free-men, undertook to present the People with a Combate of the Gladiators, at *Fidena*; but being not very wealthy, and acting more for his Gain than Glory, he did not take Care to lay the Foundations of his Amphitheater, deep enough; nor was his Timber proportion'd to so great a Structure: Vast Crowds flock'd to this Spectacle, Men, Women, and Children, Persons of all Ages and Sexes; because of its Neighbourhood to *Rome*, and the Severity of *Tiberius*, who was an Enemy to these kinds of Diversions. The Amphitheater cleaving of a sudden in the midst, the Mischief it did was incredible; for this vast Structure fell at once, on an innumerable Multitude of Persons, who were met to divert themselves with this Entertainment, and were thronging about the Doors.

LXI. But in this sad Disaster, those were not the most unhappy, who were downright killed with the first Fall; but those would move our Compassion more, who, with their Limbs broken and shattered, saw their Wives and Children in this miserable State, or heard their Groans and Cries, when the Darknefs of the Night would not give them leave to see their Faces. After, followed, the Lamentation of Relations, whom Fame drew from every side, to be Spectators of this

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Tragick Accident: One was in Tears for the Loss of a Wife; another, of a Father, or a Child; and since it could not be certainly known who were killed; and who had escaped, the Misfortune was increased by the Uncertainty. When they began to remove the Ruines, there was a great Concourse of People to claim their dead Kindred, embracing and kissing the Bodies: and very many Contestes hapned, when the Age, Habit, or Countenance, might give occasion of Mistake. Fifty thousand Persons were killed, or hurt by this Accident <sup>a</sup>. The Senate made an Order, *That no Person should present any Combate of Gladiators, who had less than Four hundred thousand Sesterces* <sup>b</sup>; or build an Amphitheater in a place that had not been viewed and approved of before. And *Atilius* was banished (1). Whilst this Affliction was fresh, all Houses were open, and Remedies, and all other Necessaries, provided for the Hurt and Maimed (2): *Rome*, now, seemed to shew something of its ancient Hospitality, when after the great Battles, the Sick and Wounded were provided for by the Publick, and

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) If a Man be put to Death who has killed another, or embezell'd the Publick Revenues, What Censure shall he merit, who shall so slightly hazard the Lives of a whole People to satisfy his Avarice? Our Builders of Scaffolds, who shall let out Fifteen or Twenty Thousand Places at

what Rates they please to exact, ought to be punished with all imaginable Rigour, when their Scaffolds fail, which often happens. There are a Multitude of Orders daily made, to prevent Mischiefs of far less Consequence.

(2) In publick Misfortunes Great Men

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>a</sup> *Suetonius* tells us, That the Number of the Dead amounted to Twenty Thousand, and that upon Occasion of this publick Calamity, the People conjuring *Tiberius* to return to *Rome*, he left the Isle of *Caprea*, just let Foot on the Shoar on the other side, shewed himself to the People, after which, he returned to that Island, and entirely abandoned the Care of Affairs.

<sup>b</sup> Ten Thousand Crowns of our Money.

*Suet-*

and no Man exempted himself from the Care and Expence.

EXII. This Disaster was hardly over, but another hapned by the burning a part of the City (1), called *Mount Calius*. Upon this they began to cry everywhere, *This Year was ominous, and the Absence of the Prince fatal to the Republick* (2): For it is the Manner of the People, to impute to Men the Accidents of Fortune. But the Emperour abated these Complaints, by distributing (3) Money, in proportion to the Loss each Man had

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

Men have the fairest Occasion to shew themselves truly Great. The Character which the *M. de Marquemont*, Archbishop of *Lyon*, gives of the Cardinal *Montalto*, Nephew to Pope *Sisto Quinto*, clearly manifests, that that Prelate inherited the great Soul of his Uncle: The Father of the Poor, says he, is dead; which Character he confirms, when he tells you, That in the Thirty Eight Years he had been Cardinal, he had given Thirteen Hundred Thousand Crowns in Alms, besides what he had given with his own Hands, and had committed to Writing. *Letter dated June 3. 1623. In the First Tome of the Memoirs of the Ministry of Cardinal Richelieu.* *Paris* will never forget the Heroick Action of the late *Madam*, the Princess of *Conty*, who sold her Jewels, and most valuable Goods, to relieve the Necessities of the Poor in the Famine 166--- And the Mother will never be remembered, but the Son will be remembered likewise, who to his Mother's Charity to the Poor, had added his Liberality to Men of Learning, and made it one of his principal Virtues, whose Patron he ever was.

(1) The Proverb, which says, *Misfortunes seldom come single*, has been true in all Ages. God lends his Scourges sometimes in one Country,

sometimes in another, to oblige Princes and Magistrates to reform Abuses.

(2) People are so accustomed to find fault with Princes, that all they do, whether good or ill, is sure to be censured: If they lead a Sedentary Life, they are weary of them; if they reside in the Country, the Capital City murmurs; if they never leave the Capital, where their Presence is almost ever necessary, the Provinces are discontented, and complain, they are treated like Foreigners. In the First Book of these Annals, we see how much the People of *Rome* desired the Absence of *Tiberius*, so far as to reproach him, with the Example of *Augustus*, who had made several Voyages into *Germany*, in his old Age, and push'd it so far as to compare him with the *Callipeder* of the *Greeks*, who was always running, but never got a Yard beyond the Place he set out from. *Suetonius in his Life.* Now he had left them, they impute all their Calamities to his Absence.

(3) A Prince is the Master of his Peoples Tongues, when he is once Master of their Hearts: However ill a Prince may be, they will ever speak well of him whilst he is Liberal. There never was a worse Man, or worse Prelate than Pope *Alexander*

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the

had sustained. The greater Men gave him Publick Thanks in the Senate, and the People generally extolled his Liberality, which he had extended to obscure Persons, whom he sent for of his own accord, without being presented to him. It was ordered, that Mount *Cælius*, should, for the future, be called Mount *Augustus*; by reason of a Statue of *Tiberius*, in the House of a certain Senator, *Junius*, which alone had been preserved<sup>d</sup> in so great a Conflagration. It was observed, the same thing had twice hapned before, to a Statue of *Claudia Quinta*<sup>e</sup>, and that it was consecrated by our Ancestors in the Temple of *Cybele*; for having been saved in two several Fires. They said; *It was an evident Demonstration, that the Family of the Claudii was holy and beloved of Heaven, and that this place merited a peculiar Reverence, where the Gods had shewn so eminent a Mark of their Favour to the Emperour.*

LXIII. It will not be impertinent to let you know, this was anciently called *Quercetulanus*, by reason of a Forest of Oaks: After it had the Name of *Calius*, from *Calius Vibenna*,

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

the Sixth; and yet the *Romans* tell us, he was a good Prince, because he took Care to make every thing plentiful. *Commines* tells us, That *John Galeas*, Duke of *Milan*, was a great Tyrant, but a liberal Man; as if he

would say, that last Quality served him instead of a great many Virtues: He adds, That the *Chartreux* of *Padua* Sainted him, because he had built their Church, and founded their Monastery.

(1) When

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>a</sup> *Strabo* tells us, That in all his Reign he gave but two Liberalities to the *Romans*, of which this was one, *Quibusdam Dominis Insularum, que in Monte Cælio deflagrarent, prædium restituit*; and some Lines after he adds, That he set so great a Value on this Act, that he would have Mount *Cælius* called Mount *Augustus*.

<sup>b</sup> A mighty Miracle, says *Don Carlos Coloma*, if that Statue were of Marble.

<sup>c</sup> She, who drew with her Girdle, the Vessel which brought to Rome the good Goddess, or the Mother of the Gods, over a Place of the *Tyber*, where it stopped,

<sup>d</sup> Varro

*Vibenna*, a *Tuscan* Commander, who having brought to Rome some Auxiliary Troops of his own Country, received from *Tarquin* the Elder, or some of our Kings<sup>f</sup>, (for Historians do not agree in this Matter) this Mountain, with the neighbouring Fields, quite to the place where the Market is now kept, for the Reception of himself and his Men, which were very numerous; from whence the *Tuscan* Row derives its Name.

LXIV. But if the Humanity of the Great Men, and the Liberality of the Emperour, gave the City some Consolation in their Affliction, the Number and Malice of the Informers, which every Day increased (1), made every Body desperate (2): For *Domitius Afer*, after he had ruined *Claudia Pulcra*, accused *Quintilius Varus*, her Son (3), a Kinsman of the Emperour. It was no amazing thing, to find a Man, who had lived a long time in Misery (4), and spent the Reward of his former Evidence, run himself upon

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) When a Prince protects Informers, and rewards them as *Tiberius* did, it is a Means to multiply them infinitely: If Villany finds so many Abettors, whilst it is unsuccessful, unsupported, what will it do when Princes and Great Men Countenance and Reward it? *Invenit etiam emulorum infelix nequitia; quid si foreat vigetque?* Tac. Hist. 4.

(2) It is difficult to redress a Grievance, whilst a great Prince finds it his Interest to support it.

(3) When a Family is odious, or suspected to a Prince, the Men of the Court make it a Piece of Merit to persecute it, till it be quite extinct.

(4) There is nothing more dangerous than Poverty, when it meets with ill Principles.

(1) The

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>a</sup> *Varro*, Lib. 4. de lingua Latina, tells us, That it was to *Romulus*, that *Vibenna* brought this Aid. *In Suburrane regionis parte* (says he) *princeps est Cælius mons, a Cælio Vibenna Tusco, duce nobili, qui cum sua manu dicitur Romulo venisse auxilio contra Sabinum Regem.* On this Mount *Cælius* stands the Church of St. John de Lateran, which is the Cathedral of Rome, and by Consequence the first Church of *Christendom*.

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upon new Crimes : But it was more unaccountable to find *Publius Dolabella*, descended of an illustrious Family, and a Kinsman of *Varus*, conspire with the Accuser to destroy his own Blood, and stain the Glory of his Family : But the Senate made use of the only Expedient to save him, which was to defer his Process till the Emperour's Return.

LXV. *Tiberius*, after he had dedicated the Temples of *Jupiter*, and *Augustus*, the one in *Nola*, the other in *Capua*, by a publick Edict, commanded, That no Person should presume to Disturb his Repose and Solitude : And placed Guards upon all the Avenues, to keep off the Concourse of People, who flocked to see him from all parts (1). But to deliver himself from their Importunity, he quitted the Continent, to confine himself in the small Island of *Caprea*, about a League distant from the *Surrentine* Promontory. In my Opinion, he chose that place, because of its difficult Access : The Sea having no good Ports there, and only navigable by small Vessels, for the bringing Provisions, which cannot approach it without being discovered : Not to observe that the Winter is very temperate, by means of a Mountain, which keeps off the most troublesome Winds. In Summer the Heat is not very excessive, being constantly refreshed with Westerly Winds, and the

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## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) The Gates of the Royal Houses ought to be open to every Man, as the Publick Churches, or the Harbors at Sea : These Houses are call'd Palaces, *quia palam sunt & patentes*. The Emperour *Rodolphus I.* seeing the

Porters and Guards kept off some Persons, who would have address'd themselves to him ; Let them come in, says he, I was never elected Emperour to be guarded, but to do my Duty. *Audiencia de Principes*. *Commines*,

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

\* *Suetonius* tells us, That there was but one Place to approach this Island, and all the rest was encompass'd with Rocks of a prodigious Height.

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Prospect is very agreeable, discovering the Sea on all sides. This Island was esteemed a very fine Country, before the Eruption of *Vesuvius* had changed its Face : It is the common Opinion, that the *Greeks* inhabited the Country, and the *Theleboens* the Island. *Tiberius* having chosen this Place for his abode, confined himself to twelve Houses, which he built for his private Pleasures, giving each a several Name, which he now abandoned himself to as much as he before had applied himself to Business. Had his Retirement been innocent, it had been well, but he grew now more than ever credulous and diffident (2) ; and *Sejanus* acting above-board against *Agrippina* and *Nero*, set Guards upon them,

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

*mines*, who makes no very advantageous Picture of the last Duke of *Burgundy*, yet gives him a very great Commendation ; when he tells you, No Prince ever gave Audience to his Subjects more liberally, or took greater Pains in hearing Ambassadors ; the one gain'd him the Love of his People, and the other the Esteem of Foreign Princes. The *Spanish* Commentator on *Commines* tells us on the contrary, That the Invisibility of the Kings of *Spain*, which he terms *Endiosamiento*, is to be very much commended, and Retirement is that which Divinizes Princes ; whereas, according to *Titus Livius*, the Facility of seeing them takes away the Curiosity, and renders them less venerable. *Letter F. Chap. 122*. But if it be the Duty of Kings to imitate God Almighty, whose Image and Vicegerents they are, we must confess that Princes are never more Divine, than when they communicate themselves most to their Subjects. It was a glorious *Endiosamiento* of the Emperour *Rodolphus* the Second, who was never to be seen, but in the Stables of his Palace at *Prague*,

where none was admitted, but such as came in the Disguise of Grooms, with Harnes in their Hands. *Cronique de Piasceki*.

(2) A Prince, who will only admit his Favourites to his Presence, cannot but be Jealous ; for of their part they will not fail to make him hate all those whom they hate themselves, and hinder any Persons coming near him, who may disabuse him. *Commines* tells us, That Princes are always more Jealous than other Men, by Reason of the Doubts and private Intelligences given them, which are often done more out of Flattery than Necessity. *Chap. 5. Book 1. of his Memoirs*. *Montieur*, the Cardinal de *Richelieu*, tells us, That those who possess a Prince's Soul by pure Favour, are the more dangerous, because to keep themselves Masters of so great a Treasure, Art and Malice must supply the Want of Virtue, which is not to be found amongst them : And he tells you, He always apprehended such Persons more than the Power of the greatest Monarchs : And doubtless he had Reason, since he served one, with whom

them, who were Spies upon their Words and Actions, and gave an account of them to the Emperor. He furnished some Rascals, who should advise them to flee to the Legions in Germany (3), or implore the Assistance of the Senate and People, in embracing the Statue of *Augustus* in the great Square: And although they neglected to follow this Advice, they were accused of intending to practise it.

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

whom there was no difference between telling a Story to the Prejudice of his Ministers, and persuading him to believe it. Chap. 6. of the First Part of his Politick Testament.

(3) In a Court, there is nothing more dangerous to those, who are hated and destin'd to Ruine, than the false Alarms constantly given them, to fling them into Despair, and push them on to rash Resolutions. Among these Traverses, says Queen *Marguerite*, My Brother, and the King my Husband stood in fear of their Lives, whether they were in danger or no, that those who wished for the Division and Ruine of our House, to gain an Ascendant over them, gave them continual Alarms to provide for their Safety. In the Second Book of her Memoirs. What Monsieur de Montresor relates in his

*Memoirs* quadrates yet more to what *Tacitus* says here of the Artifices, which *Sejanus* made use of against *Agrippina* and *Nero*. Altho' Monsieur, the Duke of *Orleans*, and Monsieur, the Count de *Soissons*, (those are his Words) assured me they would not be alarmed at any Rumours that might be spread, they did not stand to their Promise which I had from them, in order to serve their Interest: The Cardinal, a Man fertile in all Inventions that Wit and Malice could imagine, created in them a Diffidence of each other, and obliged them to withdraw from Court, whereby he might become Master, and set the King against them: And they taking this Artifice for real and sincere Advice, bid each other fare well, and never met after.

THE

THE

## Year of ROME, 781.

LXVI. Under the Consulate of *Junius Silanus*, and *Silius Nervæ*, the Year had a fatal beginning: *Tutius Sabinus*, an illustrious Person, and Roman Knight, was imprisoned, because he alone, of all the Friends of *Germanicus*, had continued to pay his Devoirs to that Family, and had not abandoned *Agrippina*, and her Children in their Disgrace (1); which rendred him equally hateful to their Enemies, and loved by all Good Men. Four Senators conspired to ruin him, *Latinius Latiaris*, *Portius Cato*, *Petilius Rufus*, and *Marcus Opsi-*us, all four Prætorians, and ambitious of the Consulate, which could not be obtained without the Favour of *Sejanus*, nor could that be obtained without a Crime (2). *Latiaris*

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) At Court, says Queen *Marguerite*, Adversity is always alone, Prosperity attended, and Persecution carried on by the greatest Friends. The brave *Grillon* was the only Person, who, in spite of Orders to the contrary, or the Frowns of his Prince, came five or six times into my Chamber, striking such an Awe on those *Cerberus's* placed at the Door, that they did not dare to deny him entrance. In the Second Book of her Memoirs.

(2) Those Governments are most certainly in a very bad Condition, where the Way to Preferment is open to Villains, and shut to honest Men. It is a detestable Maxim of

some, who assert, That honest Men are not proper for great Employments, which require Men who are Proof against Scruples: There are indeed some Scruples incompatible with the Management of Publick Affairs, such was that of *Francis de Montolm*, Lord Keeper of the Seals, who surrendered them to *Henry* the Fourth, making it a Point of Conscience not to Seal any thing under a Calvinist Prince; an Opinion which *Nicholas Pasquier* calls Superstitious. But there are some Scruples well grounded, which instead of hurting, conduce much to the Publick Welfare, and make a State flourish by maintaining Justice and the Laws: Such were

*Latiaris* was made chief of this Enterprize, because he had Access to *Sabinus*; the other were agreed on, to be the Witnesses, and all three to inform together (3). He began to entertain him with ordinary Discourses, and then set himself to praise his Constancy (4); that he had not done like other Servants of that flourishing House, who had abandoned it in its Disgrace: He praised *Germanicus*, and deplored the miserable Condition of *Agrippina*. And as Men are very sensible in their Misfortunes, *Sabinus* giving way to some Tears and his Resentment, began to blame the Ambition, Pride, and Cruelty of *Sejanus*, not sparing *Tiberius* himself. This begat a more than ordinary Familiarity between them; and after that, *Sabinus* would often come to the House of *Latiaris*, and open his Breast to him, as one whom he much confided in (5).

## LXVII. The

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

were those of the Chancellor *Oliver*, who oppos'd to the utmost of his Power the violent Proceedings of the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, chief Minister under *Francis* the Second: Those of the Chancellor of the Hospital, who, as *Stephen Pasquier* observes, did not endeavour to appear just, but to be so, and dared be a good Man in a corrupt Age; such was the Keeper of the Seals, *John de Morvillier*, Bishop of *Orleans*, who used to tell his Nephew *Del' Aubespine*, that that was not only a laborious Employment, but suited ill with an honest Man; such was *William du Vair*, who chose rather to lose the Seals, than comply with the *Mareschal d'Ancre*, who abused his Favour: And yet all the World must allow, that those great Men had as much Merit and Ability, as Honour and Probity.

(3) The Artifices of Men are very numerous, which they make use of to accomplish their Ends: One speaks openly, and pretends he cannot be

silent without a Crime, though it be Passion, which is the principal Motive; another pretends to be a Friend to one whom he endeavours to ruin; another makes a third Man speak, and reserves himself to finish the ill Offices he had began: In short, there are so many ways of attacking a Man that every prudent Man ought to be upon his Guard, against all sorts of Surprize. The last Section of the First Part of the Political Testament. Thus *Antonio Perez* had Reason to say, That Lying, Imposture, Double-dealing are the ordinary Employment of the Court; and that the Court is the Suburbs of Hell.

(4) A Generous and Disinterested Person is always pleas'd to hear the Confrancy of his Friendship commended.

(5) Courtiers can never learn a better Lesson, than that of *Philip de Valois*, who repeated upon all occasions,

*Qui tibi dicit Ave, sicut ab hoste cave.*

They

LXVII. The Conspirators consult amongst themselves, how they should put their Enterprize in Execution: To hinder any Suspicion of *Sabinus*, it was necessary to preserve an Appearance of Solitude in the Places they frequented. To conceal themselves behind the Door, was too dangerous, because they might easily make a Noise, and be discovered, or be seen through the Chinks, or by Hazard or Suspicion he might open it; wherefore they resolve, by an Invention as base as their Crime, to conceal themselves, between the Roof and the Cieling, and to listen through the Cliffs (1). In the mean time, *Latiaris* meets *Sabinus* in the Streets, and, pretending to have something new to communicate to him, brings him to his House, takes him into his Chamber, where he entertains him with a Discourse of the Badness of the Times, with his Fears and Apprehensions of what further Mischiefs were coming on. *Sabinus*, very far from contradicting him, confirms what

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They are very foolish, who trust a Secret, the revealing of which can make the Fortune of the Persons with whom it is deposited: And yet *Monsieur de Charvigny*, as subtle as he was, committed this Fault, and was a few Days after made Prisoner in the Castle of *Charvigny*, of which he was Governour.

(1) When a Man speaks ill of Princes, he must as much fear Walls and Hangings, as the Persons he converses with. There is in the Memoirs of *Commines* an excellent Chapter upon this Subject: The King, says he, caused the Lord *de Contay* to be placed behind a Screen in his Chamber, that he might hear and report to the Duke of *Burgundy* his Master, the Words of the Constable *de St. Pol* and his Men: *Lewis de Croville*, one of his Gentlemen, began to mimic the Duke, to stamp

with his Feet on the Earth, and swear *St. George*, calling the King of *England* *Blancbougne*, *Archer's Bastard*, and all the ridiculous Things could be said of a Man; the King laugh'd aloud, and bid him speak louder, for he was a little Deaf, the other, without suspecting any thing, began again, and acted his Farce over: When the rest were gone, the Lord *de Contay* and I came out, and the King laughed heartily, well satisf'd, that he had acted his part so well, and made this Lord hear the Words and Speeches of the Constable and his People: But *Contay* as a Man impatient to hear such a Fellow ridicule his Master, took Horse immediately, and went to acquaint the Duke with it. Chap. 8. Book 4. *Antonio Perez* says very pertinently, That Nature by Echo teaches us to be diffident, because a Secret is not safe,

what he said, and as unfortunate Men love to complain, entertains him with a long Recital of his Sufferings (2). Hereupon, the four Conspirators send their Information by Writing to the Emperour, and give him a particular Relation of their infamous Treachery. The Business being divulged at Rome, never was greater Disturbance and Confusion; every Body was timorous of every thing; mute and inanimate Things, even Walls, Cielings, Hangings, were suspected; Kinsmen, and Strangers, Company, Silence, and Solitude were all dreaded.

LXVIII. The Emperour writes a Letter to the Senate, where, after his ordinary Complement, of *wishing them a prosperous Year*, he complains of *Sabinus*, accuses him, of *corrupting some of his Domesticks*, to make an Attempt on his Person; and demands Justice to be done him. Immediately the Criminal is condemned, and being led to the Place of Execution, crying all the way, as loud as a Man could do with his Throat stopt, and his Robe drawn over his Head, *Are these the Beginnings of the Year? That he was made a Sacrifice to Sejanus*. Where-ever he turned his Eyes, or directed his Words, the People fled, quitted the Streets, and publick Places; some turned back, and shewed themselves, fearing this very Fear of theirs should be made Criminal. *What Times shall be exempt from Execution*, cry they, *if the First Day of the Year, amidst our Vows and Sacrifices, where profane Words are not tolerated, we see Gibbets erected* (1)?

That

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safe even in Solitude, where there is always a Witness to repeat what it hears. *In his Relations*.

(2) Self-love makes us believe we can never complain enough of the Injuries we have received; for this Reason, we naturally repeat our Resentments, and our last Complaints are still the longest, because the more

we reflect upon an Injury the more hainous it seems, and the more we would have it appear so to others.

(1) Though Festivals, and other Days of Publick Rejoycing, ought to be observed with Respect, yet Princes may sometimes violate this Rule to make a singular Example, and strike a Terror into ill Men.

Clement

*That there was some Mystery in it, that Tiberius should expose himself to such a publick Odium. That he had done this, and found a Method to revenge himself; without hindring the new Consuls to open the Temples and Prisons at the same time.* This Execution was followed by the Thanks of Tiberius to the Senate, for having taken off an Enemy of the Common-wealth (2). Adding, *That he lived in a constant Inquietude, and Fear, of the Plots of his Enemies, against his Life*: Without naming any Person, whom he suspected; but they understood well enough he meant Nero and Agrippina.

LXIX. If I had not resolved to relate every Thing in the Order of Time they happen'd, I should be tempted to anticipate, and give you an Account of the unhappy End of *Latiaris*, *Opsius*, and the other Authors of this Treachery (1), not only in the Reign of *Caligula*, but in the Life of *Tiberius* himself: For altho' this Prince would not suffer any Person to remove the Instruments of his Tyranny (2), yet oftentimes tired with their Crimes, he substituted New Ones, and sacrificed

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

*Clement VIII.* who, was a very wise and able Pope, upon a certain Wednesday, on which the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin happened, a Fellow being taken by the Officers, and daring to cry, *Caetano, Gaetano*, which was then the Cry of the Franchise, caused him to be Executed some few Hours after, together with three Domesticks of the Cardinal *Edward Farnese*, who ran to his Assistance. *Pagliari Ob-servat.* 156.

(2) A Prince, who thanks his Judges for Condemning and Executing in a State Crime, one whom the World has a good Opinion of, gives us occasion to think, he has procured him to be Condemned unjustly; which a prudent Prince ought ever to avoid.

Cardinal *Richelieu* took especial Care not to thank the Judges of the *Mar-schal de Marillac*, although they found him Criminal, only in Complaisance to him, in sacrificing to him a Family that made Profession of being his Enemy.

(1) History cannot afford an honest Mind greater Pleasure, than in setting forth the Punishment of ill Men: It is a thing which Historians ought never to omit, since it makes so deep an Impression on the Minds of the Readers.

(2) Princes cannot suffer Justice to take its Course against those, who are the Instruments of executing their Arbitrary and Despotick Power, because they are so many Victims, by which they make their Peace, and



crificed the other to the Vengeance of the People: But we will in another place relate their Punishment; and other like Villains, and at present return to our Subject. *Asinius Gallus*, who had espoused *Vipsania*, Sister, by the Father, of *Agrippina*, proposed, That the Senate should address the Emperour, to declare the Persons most suspected to him, and that they would take Care to remove them. *Tiberius*, who, of all his Virtues, had none so dear to him as his Dissimulation (3), took it very ill, that he had discovered what he design'd most to conceal: But *Sejanus* appeased him, not in Affection to *Asinius*; but to give Time, knowing, that as he was slow in taking his Resolutions, when he once came to declare (4), his Rage would break forth with the greater Violence<sup>a</sup>.

## LXX. A.

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

and repair their Honor, when they find it for their Interest to sacrifice them.

(3) In a private Person, Dissimulation is a Fault, when it destroys Civil Society; but in respect of Princes, it is a Virtue of their Office, and a Quality absolutely necessary to their well Governing: Whoever has the least Knowledge of the Affairs of State, or has managed any, must acknowledge this Truth; and for this Reason, we every Day see Persons, who pass from a Private to a Publick Life; entirely change their Character. A Person, who in his private Condition, was a free and open Contemner of Ceremonies, when he once becomes Ambassador, Chief President, Chancellor, or Minister of State, immediately renounces all Liberty and Freedom, and Dissimulation and Trick succeeds in the Room of Ingenuity and Plain-dealing. The com-

mon Proverb ascribes this sudden Change to Honours, which have a natural Tendency to make Men Haughty and Proud: But, as it is true, that Grandeur and Power alter the Humour and Disposition of abundance of Men, who have not Spirit able to resist the Charms of Prosperity; yet so we must confess, this Difference is to proceed from the Necessity of a Publick Character, which requires another kind of Life, another Figure, more Circumspection and Measures, more State and Ceremony: And this is often the Cause, that exposes great Officers of State to the Envy of the World, where high Posts will not permit them to be Popular: For, says *Antonio Perez*, whoever would enjoy his Friends, must avoid all Publick Business.

(4) A Prince, who would punish

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>a</sup> It was the Custom of *Tiberius* never to declare his Resentment, till he had

LXX. About this time died *Julia*, Grand-child to *Augustus*, who had banished her for her Adultery<sup>b</sup>, into the Isle of *Trinacrum*, on the Coast of *Apulia*. She lived there, supported by the Empress, who, after she had clandestinely taken off the Grand-children of *Augustus*, in a flourishing Fortune, affected to shew herself Tender and Generous to their Sister, in her Afflictions.

LXXI. The same Year the *Frisons*, a Nation inhabiting beyond the *Rhine*, shook off the *Roman* Yoke; rather compell'd by the Avarice of our Officers, than out of an Inclination to Revolt. *Drusus* considering their Poverty, had impos'd for a Tribute, to furnish a certain Number of Beeves Hides (1), for the Use of the

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<sup>a</sup> Subject who has offended him, ought never to Menace him, or be oblig'd to accompany his Menaces with his Punishment: For Threats are so many Notices we give the Offender to secure himself. *Lewis* the Eleventh in the Height of his Resentment against the Constable St. Pol, call'd him, and called him his Brother. *Commines*, Chap. 8. Book 4. of his Memoirs. The Duke of *Anjou*, who was after *Henry* the Third, would often embrace the Duke of *Guise*, and cry, *Would to God, you were my Brother*, whilst underhand he obstructed his Marriage with *Marguerite* his Sister. *Queen Marguerite* in her Memoirs, Book 1.

(1) How poor soever the Subjects

are, they ought not to be exempted from all Imposts, because in losing this Mark of their Subjection, they lose the Memory of their Condition, and would believe themselves no more oblig'd to obedience: They are like Mules us'd to Burdens, who are spoiled by too long a Repose. But as it is necessary, the Burden of those Animals should be proportioned to their Strength; so all Imposts which exceed Moderation, would be unjust; common Sense dictating, that the Load ought not to exceed the Strength of those who bear it. *Polick Testament of Cardinal Richelieu*, Sect. 5. Chap. 4. of the First Part.

(2) Tri-

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

had opportunity of revenging himself; so that his Menaces and Complaints were always followed with a speedy Punishment.

<sup>b</sup> *Augustus* was so rigorous, that being delivered after her Condemnation, he gave Orders, none should Nurse the Child. *Suetonius* in his Life.

the Soldiers, without specifying particularly their Strength or Size. But *Olennius*, one of the *Principales*, being made Governour of that Province, chose the *Bufalo's* Hides for a Sample. An Exaction which would have been insupportable to any other Nation, but more (2) to the *Germans*, whose Domestick Beeves were small, tho' their Wild Ones in their Forests were large and numerous. They began to seize first their Cattel themselves; after, when these failed, their Estates, and proceeded to make their Wives and Children Slaves; a Subject for Murmurs and Complaints: But these not prevailing, they had recourse to Arms(3), and

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(2) Tributes, says a *Spanish* Statesman, have two Measures, the one answers to the Power of the People, the other to the Will of the Prince. Princes ought to adapt every thing to the first, and the People to the latter, otherwise all things will be confounded. Whenever a Prince demands things unjust, or impossible, they refuse what is just and possible; whereas, if he exacts nothing of his Subjects but with Mildness and Justice, they take Pleasure to bleed themselves, and give him whatever they can; on the contrary, if he uses Violence, they become obstinate and rebellious: To changing on one side and the other, their Sentiments and Language; the Prince and his Ministers call their Subjects Traitors to their King, and the Subjects call the King and his Counsellors Traytors to God (whose Vicegerents they are): These excellent Advices merit, that its Author's Name should be Publick, who was *Don Diego Sarmiento d'Acugna*,

Count de Gondomar, Ambassador in England and France, under the Reign of Philip the Third.

(3) The strongest Rampart a Prince can have to defend his People, is to redress Grievances, discharge his Subjects of what exceeds their Power, lest they be compelled to do themselves Justice, to the Danger of disturbing the Publick Peace, and altering the ancient Possession. In the *Apophisms* after his Relations. For this Reason, *Lewis* the Eleventh, who had loaded the People more than any of his Predecessors had a desire to make them easie, if it had pleased God to continue his Life five or six Months longer, as *Commines* reports. Nothing can be wiser, and more persuasive, than the Advice of the Cardinal d'Osset to Monsieur Villeroy, upon the Account of the Attempts made on the Person of *Henry* the Fourth: I intreat you, says he, not to take Ill a Word, I have a long time been big with: The Conspirators would never have had the Boldness

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

These were a sort of Lieutenant Colonels of the Legions.

And

and seizing the Soldiers; sent to exact the Tribute, hanged them on a Gibbet (4). *Olennius* escaped their Fury by a speedy Flight, and secured himself in the Castle of *Flerum*, in which was a considerable Number of Roman Soldiers, and Allies posted to guard the Ocean.

LXXII. *Lucius Apronius*, Governour of the Lower Germany, having Advice of this Revolt, brought down several Cohorts of the Upper Province, with the Flower of the Auxiliary Cavalry and Infantry, which he embarked on the *Rhine*. The Rebels, on the Noise of his Approach, had raised the Siege, and were retired to defend their Country; he made several Bridges and Causeys, over the neighbouring Morass, and by accident discovering some of the Fords, sent the Cavalry of the *Caninefates*, and the German Infantry, in our Pay, to attack the Enemy in the Rear, who were posted in Order of Battel; but these were repulsed, together

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

Boldness to Plot, if they had not seen a part of the Nobility and Gentry discontented, the Churchill treated, the poor People trod under Foot; without these Encouragements Foreigners would not have had the Presumption to molest us, and suborn our Noblemen and Gentlemen. In truth, the Vigilance of the King has been so great, that without it we had been all undone: But I cannot exempt my self for fear of the like Relapses, or hope for an entire and assured Repose, till the King has reformed the State, beginning with himself, and squeezing less from his People, and given Satisfaction to the greater Part of his State, which prevail in number over the Perfidious, and Seditious: By this means these Men, and all Foreigners, will be cut off from all hopes of troubling the publick Peace of the Kingdom, and

raising Subjects in Arms against their Princes. I know this is a bold Proposition, but I esteem it to be very true and needful; and if I thought it would have a good Effect, I would have long since writ it to the King, at the Peril of my own Life, for it is the only true Way and Means to secure his Person and Crown, not only to himself, but his Posterity. Letter 325.

(4) Often the Instruments of Violence become a Victim to the Revenge of the Subjects. In a clear Night, says *Commines*, *Messire Pierre Archambault*, Governour of the Country of *Ferretta*, for the Duke of *Burgundy*, was taken and carried to *Basle*, where the *Suisses* made his Process for certain irregular Proceedings and Violences committed, and chopp'd off his Head. Chap. 2. Book 4. of his *Memoirs*.

I 2

(1) When

gether with the Cavalry of the Legions, sent to sustain the Attack. Then *Apronius* detached two *Cohorts*, light armed; and after, two more; and then all the Light-Horse; Troops enough to have defeated the Rebels, if they had charged all at a time; but coming on by Intervals, the first were put in Disorder, before the last could come to their assistance. After, he gave the Command of the rest of the Auxiliaries, to *Cethegus Labeo*, Chief of the Fifth Legion; who, seeing his Men about to fly, sent to implore the Aid of our Legions: His own came up first courageously, repulsed the Enemy, and gave our *Cohorts* leave to make their Retreat, much weakened with their Wounds. Our General did not push his Vengeance further, but instantly retreated, without burying the Slain, tho' a great many brave Officers of Horse and Foot, fell in this Engagement. We learn'd after, from some Deserters, that Nine hundred of our Men had been cut to pieces in a Wood called *Badukenna*, after they had maintained a Fight 'till the next Morning. And another Body of Four hundred, having seized a *Villa* belonging to *Criptorix*, formerly in our Service, had mutually killed one another, out of a fear of a treacherous Surrender.

LXXIII. This Victory made the *Frisons* famous among their Neighbours. *Tiberius* dissembled the Loss, afraid to trust any with the Command of the Army (1).

The

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) When a Prince is old, he ought to shut the Temple of *Janus*, that is, conclude all manner of Wars, which do only weaken his Authority, by depending on those, who are capable of commanding his Armies. And this perhaps is what the Royal Prophet would insinuate in these Words, *Psaln 147. Quoniam confortavit servos portarum tuarum, qui posuit fines*

*tuos pacem.* *Commines* tells, That *Lewis* the Eleventh, near the End of his Life, was very solicitous to be at Peace, or have Truce with all his Enemies, especially since he thought his Subjects had a Design upon his Government, if they should find a favourable Time for their Purpose: For he knew very well, he was not beloved by a great many of the chief

No

The Senate was not much solicitous about the Disgrace the Empire received in the Frontiers; a general Fear had seized the Minds, and some egregious Flattery was now the only Refuge (2). In this posture of Affairs, without minding the other Business on their Hands, they decreed, *an Altar to Clemency, another to Friendship, with the Effigies of the Emperour, and Sejanus, encompassing them*; whom, with repeated Addresses, they besought to come and Honour the Senate with their Presence. Notwithstanding which, they would never come to *Rome*, or near it; contenting themselves with appearing on the Shoar, whither the Senators, and Knights, and a great part of the People flocked, every one pressing to be seen by *Sejanus*, whose Access was very difficult, only to be obtained by those of his Cabal, or by a Special Favour (3). This base Complaisance augmented his Arrogance: Here he might

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

Nobility, as well as the common People. *Chap. 7. Book 6. of his Memoirs.*

(2) In how bad a State soever the Affairs of a Prince shall be, he will never want Flatterers, who shall extol the Power and Happiness of his Reign. Though *Philip* the Fourth had lost the Principality of *Catalonia*, and the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and was in danger of a general Insurrection throughout his Dominions; his Ministers did not fail in this lamentable Juncture, to erect a Statue on Horse-back, with the pompous Inscription of *Philip* the Great; which gave occasion to the ingenious Rallery of *Don Juan de Tassis*, Count de *Villa mediana*: If he be Great, his Greatness is like that of a Ditch, which is made greater, the more Land you rake from it.

(3) The Post of Chief Minister of

State is enough exposed to Envy and Hatred, and those who are posselt of it, have no need to encrease the Odium by a difficulty of Audience: Some object to the contrary, that by this means Ministers avoid the making infinite number of Discontents, since it will ever be true, that there will be abundance more admitted, than those who can have their Requests granted: But this Reason has no Weight; for a great Minister, who is difficult of Access, and seldom gives Audience, makes all Persons his Enemies, who attend to have their Dispatches; whereas he makes them his Servants and Friends, whom he hears favourably: Besides, that there is a Manner of Denying with Mildness and Civility, which comforts and satisfies those Pretenders, who are excluded.

might see all the Great Men of *Rome*, come and prostrate themselves at his Feet (4); whereas, at *Rome*, the Greatness of the City, robb'd him of part of his Glory, because all the World running to and fro about their Business, it was difficult to know how every Man's Way lay; but here we might see Senators and Knights passing their Days and Nights in the Country, or on the Coast, endure the Insolence of a Porter, or court his Favour (5), 'till they gain'd Admittance, or were Discharged from further Attendance, divers returning to the City home dejected, and full of Tears, when he would not vouchsafe to hear or see; others big with a false Joy, who could not foresee how fatal his Friendship would shortly prove.

LXXIV. *Tiberius* caused the Marriage of the young *Agrippina*, Daughter of *Germanicus*, with *Cneius Domitius*, who were contracted in his Presence, to be celebrated in *Rome*. He considered in the Person of *Domitius*

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(4) There are few Princes so hardy or resolute, but they become at one time or another Jealous of the Authority of their Favourites, whatever Marks of Affection they may have given him: What will then become of a Favourite, who has used insolently his good Fortune? without doubt he will be utterly ruined. The Adoration of Courtiers has ruined incomparably more Favourites, than the Hatred of the People. There are a great many Favourites and Ministers who are blown up with the Adoration paid them, or rather the Power they possess: They resemble the Ais which carried the Goddess *Isis*; and there are few who prostrate themselves at their Feet, but who mentally say, *Non tibi, sed*

*Religioni*: It is not to you, that we address our Respect, and Worship, but it is to Religion, to the Prince, whose Ensigns you bear. *Alciat Emblem 7.*

(5) Porters are often a Means to make their Masters odious, who suffer none to enter, but such who purchase their Admittance, and give the People occasion to cry, they are placed there to keep out the Poor; which draws a thousand Imprecations and Curses on Great Men. Would to God all Ministers of the first Rank, would imitate the Cardinal *Espinosa*, whose Porters, very far from being Insolent, demanded of all passers by, with a loud Voice; Who would have Audience of my Lord President of *Castile*?

HISTO-

*mitius*, besides the Antiquity of his Race, the near Relation he bore to the Imperial House, for being Grandson to *Octavia*<sup>d</sup>, was by her, Great Nephew to *Augustus*.

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>d</sup> And proper Son of the Eldest Daughter of *Mark Anthony*,

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THE

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THE  
**ANNALS**  
 OF  
*CORNELIUS TACITUS,*  
 IN THE  
 Year of *R O M E*, 782.

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*The Fifth Book.*

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**U**nder the Consulate of *Rubellius*, and *Fusus*, both Surnamed *Geminus*, the Empress *Livia* died in an extream Old Age<sup>a</sup>: She was of the Illustrious Family of the *Clandii*, adopted into that of the *Livii*, and the *Julii*; and had for her first Husband, *Tiberius Nero*, who flying in the War of *Perousa*, after returned to *Rome*, when *Pompey* the Younger, had made Peace with the *Triumvirs*: *Augustus*

HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>a</sup> She was Fourscore and Two Years of Age when she died.

<sup>b</sup> *Tacitus*

*gustus*, charmed with her Beauty (1), would have her for his Wife, and tho' she was big with Child, forced her from her Husband (2). We know not whether she was content with this Divorce (3); but by the Marriage of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, she had the same Posterity with *Augustus*. She was not so severe in her Conduct, as the ancient Roman Ladies (4), and she equalled them in her Chastity and Virtue. An imperious Mother (5), but a complaisant Wife (6), of a Humour which suited well the Delicacy of *Augustus*, and

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) At Court, Beauty is always the Rock whereon Chastity is split: A fine Woman, a Woman of the Court, and a Mistress are Synonymous Terms.

(2) As Princes are Masters of the World, and able to act as they list, they seldom fail to put their Criminal Pleasures in Execution, *A voto ad scelus facillime transitur*. Hist. 1. They desire like Men, but they execute their desires like Kings.

(3) Women are ambitious, and will dispense with the most Sacred Ties, to become the Wives or Mistresses of a Prince. Where is that Woman now to be found, who will not think it an Honour to be Mistress to a King? We every day hear the World cry, and those People of Sense too; Oh, 'tis a fine Post, she is a fine Woman, I have heard *Catharine de Rohan*, afterwards Duchess of *Deux-ponts*, called a thousand Fools and Sots, for replying to *Henry* the Fourth, That she was too mean to be his Wife; and of too great a Family to be his Whore. What Opinion can we have of those Ladies, who censure her for this Answer? but that they would upon the like occasion prevent the like Scandal: However, *Henry* the Fourth did not think the Marchioness de *Guercheville*, so great a Sor, when he preferred her

to be Maid of Honour to the Queen his Wife, as a Récompence of that impregnable Virtue, which he had found in her. All Posterity will mention the fair *Julia de Gonzague* with Honour, who being informed, that the General *Barbarosso* was coming to *Fondo*, the Place where she lived, to force her away, and carry her to the Emperor *Soliman*, fled away in the midst of the Night all undressed, to preserve her Honour, and that of *Vespasian Colonna*, whom she had married very old.

(4) As Women, who have regard to their Honour, ought not to be easy or familiar; so on the other side, they ought not to be rustical or uncivil. Familiarity with Men makes them contemned, and Rusticity hated and contemned both together.

(5) When Women have made their Childrens Fortune, they usurp a great Authority over them: For besides the filial Duty, they pretend to that of Gratitude.

(6) Most commonly, a Woman, who has an extream Complaisance for her Husband, exacts of his Children the strictest Obedience, in some sort, to indemnify her self for the Authority their Father assumes over her.

(7) Men

and the Dissimulation of *Tiberius*. Her Funerals were indifferent (7), and her Testament a long time before it was executed. Her Funeral Oration was pronounced upon the *Rostra* by *Caius Calignula*, her Grand-son, afterwards Emperor.

II. *Tiberius* not coming to pay his last Duties to his Mother, excused himself by his Letters, alledging, *the Multitude of his Business* (1); tho' he abated nothing of his voluptuous Life (2), and by an affected Modesty, retrenched part of the Honours the Senate had decreed to her Memory, and would suffer no Altars to be erected, or Temples built, pretending it was her own Desire it should be so. In his Letter to the Senate, he blamed those, who by divers Artifices insinuate themselves into the Favours of Women (3), tacitely hinting at the Consul *Fufius*, a very great Master of that Art, and who stood fair with the Empress, but had often offended *Ti-*

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(7) Men usually give themselves but little trouble to pay Honours after their decease, to those whom they did not love in their Lives.

(1) The Respect which a Prince owes to his Mother is a Personal Duty, but his Application to Publick Affairs is a Royal Duty, and by Consequence, preferable to the other, when both cannot comport together. *Lewis XIII.* having debated in Council, whether he should suffer the Queen Mother to return to *France*, the Chancellor *Séguier* gave this Advice in writing: There is no Man but would give so just Council to the King, if we regard his Majesty as a Son. This Capacity obliges him to the greatest Respects in the World; whereas private Men receive from their Mothers a bare Life, Princes not only receive their Lives, but their Crowns and Right of Succession to the Throne. But if we consider him as King, he is more obliged to the State, than to

his Mother. The Answer which the Son of God made in the Temple to his Mother, who blamed him for his Absence, teaches Princes, that they ought to prefer the Interest of the State to all private Obligations whatever.

(2) A Prince, who has withdrawn himself from the Administration of publick Business, seems to insult the People, when he excuses himself upon the Greatness and Importance of his Occasions, as *Tiberius* in this Case does.

(3) Great Men who keep up a set Correspondence with the Ladies of the Court, sooner or later render themselves suspected, and, by Consequence, odious to the Prince; for it is impossible to live a long time with them, without sharing in their Quarrels, engaging in their Intrigues, becoming a Party in their Cabals. All the Disgraces of *Antonio Perez* arose from his being too far dipp'd in the Amours of the Princesses of *Eboli*. We

*Tiberius*, with reflecting Words; the Memory of which ever remains with Great Men (4).

III. After the Death of *Livia*, his Tyranny became more insufferable than ever: For whilst that Princess lived, she was a sort of Refuge; because *Tiberius*, who had been long accustomed to obey her, did not dare to contradict her openly (1), nor *Sejanus* resist the Name and Authority of a Mother: But after her Death, he had no Reserve or Modesty left. The Senate now received Letters full of sharp Words, reflecting on *Agrippina* and *Nero*. It was thought they were writ before the Decease of the Empress, and suppress'd by her Order.

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

We need only read History to shew, that all those Statesmen, who have too far amused themselves with Women, have marred their Fortunes. I know very well, says Monsieur, the Cardinal de *Richelieu*, there are some Souls so great, and so much Commanders of themselves, as never to be the Slaves to the Mistresses of their Pleasures; but there are few of this Temper; and we must confess, that as one Woman has ruin'd the World, there is nothing more hurtful to a Civil Government, than for them to command those who are at the Helm, and steer according to their fickle and capricious Fancies. In the Fifth Section of the Eighth Chapter of his *Politick Testament*.

(4) There is no greater, or more heinous Offence, which Princes with more difficulty Pardon than Raillery, especially when it proceeds from Persons, who Pride in shewing themselves Wits: It often happens, they weep for making others laugh. The Sarcastim of *Rey cogulla*, one of the Grandees of *Arragon*, to their King *Don Ramiro*, because he had been Monk and Priest, made the Abbot of *Tomer* propose the Example of *Periander* and *Tarquin* the Proud: Which

was followed with the Death of fifteen Lords, whom he beheaded in the City of *Huesca*. *Mariana*, Chap. 16. Book. 10. of his History of Spain. *Elizabeth*, Queen of England, having heard that Monsieur *Cbouart de Buzenval*, who had been Resident at her Court from *Henry* the Fourth, had exposed her Pronunciation of the French, whilst he was at Dinner with Monsieur *du Plessis-Mornay*, revenged her self of them both: For this last Gentleman being after sent Ambassador extraordinary, to desire her Assistance against the League, she received him very badly, and suffer'd him to negotiate a great while in vain; so that another was sent in his stead, the Viscount *Turenne*, whom she received well: But when *Turenne* came to declare he had Orders to leave Monsieur *de Buzenval* in his Place, who was come over with him, she declared, she would have none of him. *Memoirs for the History of Holland*.

(1) It is a Misfortune to a Kingdom, says *Commines*, when its Prince regards nothing: He likewise tells us, God has created nothing in this World, but, which he has given his contrary to; and especially to Princes,

Order. However, *Tiberius* did not accuse that young Prince of any Attempt against the State, only reproach'd him with the Debauches of Youth (2), and *Agrippina* with her Arrpgance (3); for he could impute nothing else to them with any colour (4). The Senate both surprized and affrighted, when some Persons, who could never hope to advance themselves by real Merit, but by a blind Complaisance to the Times, demanded the Matter to be debated. *Messalina Cotta* was one of the hottest Men in this Affair; but the other Consular Men, and Magistrates, were backward, *Tiberius* having contented himself, with declaring his Disgust, without proceeding farther (5).

IV. There was in the Senate, one *Junius Rusticus*, placed there by the Emperour, to keep a Register of the

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

to keep them in Fear and humble Dependance on him; that Monarchies are oppos'd to Commonwealths, and Commonwealths to Monarchies; Families to Families, and private Men to private Men, to keep them all aright. In the Last Chapter of the Fifth Book of his *Memoirs*, where this Matter is handled to the Bottom.

(2) A Prince, who reproaches another with those Vices he is guilty of himself, gives his Subjects occasion to divulge the most shameful and detestable Things they know of him. *Philip* the Second reproaching *William*, Prince of *Orange*, with his Marriage with a Religious, he publish'd to the World, that *Philip* was actually married to *Donna Isabella Osorio*, when he espoused the Infanta of *Portugal*; that he had lived in publick Adultery with *Donna Eufracia*, during the Life of Queen *Elizabeth of France*, his third Wife; and to complete the rest, had married his own Niece, and added Incest to Adultery. In his *Apology in the Year, 1579*.

(3) A Subject accused by his Prince runs a very great hazard of being condemned, especially when the Crime imputed to him, is agreeable to his Humour and Principles. *Agrippina* was naturally Violent and Imperious; for this Reason, the Complaints of *Tiberius* were more regarded, because they could not doubt of the Truth of them.

(4) An invincible Proof that a Woman is virtuous, when her worst Enemies can reproach her with no Immodesty.

(5) When a Prince would rid himself of a great Man, who is beloved by the People, and, by this means able to form a Party against him, he ought to conceal his Design, till he is in a Condition to put it in Execution. For this Reason, *Lewis* the Eleventh took so many Measures and Precautions to have the Head of the Constable *St. Poll*; and that *Henry* the Third set all Engines on work, to draw the Cardinal, and Duke of *Guise*, to the meeting of the States of *Blois*, where they were taken off.

(1) There

the Debates of the Acts of the Company, and for this Reason thought very knowing in the Intentions of *Tiberius*: This Man, by I know not what strange Inspiration (1), for he had not before given any Mark of Generosity, or out of a mistaken Prudence, without seeing what Danger he exposed himself to, advises the Consuls, to suspend the Debate (2). He alledged, That an Instant might change the Face of Things: That they ought to allow Time, to let the Old Man's Passion cool. The People flock'd round the Senate, bearing in their Hand the Statues of *Agrippina*, and *Nero*, with Acclamations, at the Name of *Tiberius*, crying, That the Letters were forged; that he did not know of any Plotting to the Ruine of his Family: So that Day nothing was done to

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) There is a World of Men, who are more acted by Hazard and Chance, than Courage and Prudence. This Man will do a thing which succeeds, which he would never have done, if he had been capable of Attention, or Reflection; that Man perhaps, has pass'd all his Life, without once giving a Proof of his Wit or Courage, who all of a sudden becomes a Hero in the Eyes of the People, and yet knows not himself whence this Reputation proceeds. Of this kind, was that plain, simple Man *de Broussel*, who having never before made a Figure in the Parliament, or the World, in his declining Years, gain'd a mighty Name, by vigorously opening against Cardinal *Mazarin*, and became more famous by his rising from his Seat, and going out at a *Te Deum*, than if he himself had gain'd the Victory, which they were returning Thanks to God for.

(2) It is a thing of ill Consequence, for Magistrates to resist the Will of their Prince, says the President *Jeanin*; for Subjects, to whom they ought to give Example, receive from

hence an ill Opinion of their Prince, and conceive his Demands unjust; whence their Hatred to him, and their Revolt very often follows. Besides, to refuse a Sovereign unjust Things, when he demands them by the ordinary way of Law, is putting him on the Exercise of his Absolute Power, to accomplish his Desires. Thus *Tiberius*, after he had applied to the Senate in vain, from whom he expected Satisfaction, commanded them to forbear meddling in that Affair, where he after became both Judge and Party. In the Year 1631, the Parliament at *Paris* having refused to confirm the Declaration of the King against Monsieur, the Duke of *Orleans*, and those who had follow'd him out of the Kingdom, he order'd all the Company at the *Louvre*, to attend him in a Body, and on foot: And they being come, the Lord-Keeper of the Seals, check'd them for meddling in Affairs of State, which belong'd to the Prince alone: After which the King himself tore the Leaf out, in which their Votes were Registered, and the Number of Voices

on

to their prejudice. Yet there were Libels spread among the People, under pretence of being the Speeches of several principal Senators, where *Sejanus* was lash'd so much the more severely, as the Authors hoped to remain conceal'd (3). This redoubled his Rage (4), and made him often to rail at the Senate, crying, They valued not the Displeasure of their Prince: That the People was Revolted: That all the Town was full of Harangues and Libels against the Government: That the Senate had made Innovations in the Laws (5), and there remain'd nothing behind, but to place at the Head of their Armies, those, whose Ensigns they had born.

V. Ti-

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

on each side, and put in the stead of an Order, by which in express words, it is forbid, That the Court of Parliament should for the future undertake any Debates relating to Affairs of State, or his Administration of the Government, under Penalty of being interdicted the Exercise of their respective Functions; and for the Fault committed by the said Court, it was ordered by the said Letters of Declaration it should be withdrawn, with express Prohibition, to take any Cognizance of the same for the future. Chap. 17. Book 4. *Time 1. of the History of Cardinal Richelieu*. For the rest, it happens often, that Men are defended by those, whom, if they had the Liberty, they would not chuse for Judges. It was enough to render *Junius Rusticus* suspected to *Agrippina*, because he was a Creature of *Tiberius*; and yet he does her that Service, which she could never have hoped for from her best Friends in the Senate.

(3) Libels and Pasquils are the just Scourge of Tyranny: And Tyrants may take this Devise, *Oderint, mutent*.

(4) The Favourites and Ministers of Princes stand in fear of nothing

more, than Libels against them; for how great soever they are in their Master's Favour, it very often happens a trifling Epigram, a small Reflection, brings them into eternal Disgrace with him. So many disgusted Courtiers, who cannot approach a Prince's Ear, always surrounded with Spies, placed there by his great Minister, or Favourite, have a thousand Occasions to put a small Bit of Paper in his Chamber, in his Bed, and the most quick-lighted *Argus* know nothing of it. Thus the Cardinal *de Borgia*, and the Count *d'Orgate* found a Method to ruin the Marquis *de Leganes*, and after the *Comte, Duke d'Olivarez*.

(5) If such Assemblies are suffered to proceed without being curbed, they are never after to be retained in the Bounds of their Duty. It would be impossible to avoid the utter Destruction of the Royal Authority, if the Advice of those was followed, who are as ignorant in the Practice of governing a State, as they presume themselves skilled in the Theory, are not able to decide any thing in the Course of Publick Affairs, which exceed their Capacity. *Self. 3. Chap. 4. of his Politick Testament*



V. *Tiberius* began to renew his Complaints against *Agrippina*, and *Nero*, and after he had Reprimanded the People by his Edict, he blamed the Senate for suffering the Imperial Authority to be eluded, by the Knavery of one Senator, and reserved the Cognizance of that Affair to himself. Without further Debate, they replied, it was their Intention, to Revenge him of his Enemies, and to Condemn them; unless his express Orders had hindered them from proceeding farther.

The History of almost Three Years is lost here, which contained the Imprisonment of *Agrippina*, and her two Sons, *Nero* and *Drusus*; the Death of the Elder, the Conspiracy and Death of *Sejanus* and *Livia*; the Description of all the Relations and Friends of that unfortunate Favourite; that is, all the most memorable Events of the Reign of *Tiberius*.

VI. There were Forty-four Harangues made upon this Occasion, some out of Fear, and others for the sake of Custom. \* \* \* \* \* I thought this would have created Enemies to *Sejanus*, and Disgrace to myself. \* \* \* \* \* Now Fortune is inverted, the Prince who had chosen him for his Son-in-Law, and his Companion

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

statement. In short, the proper Design of their Establishment, is, to take Cognizance of the Affairs of private Persons, and decide the Differences arising between Party and Party. *Cabrera* makes a judicious Remark upon the Civil Judges; he tells us, They are apt to create more Difficulties in the Affairs of State than they need, and stick at Scruples, because they adhere too much to the literal Sense of the Laws: Adding, they are apt to condemn whatever themselves have not done. *Chap. 8.*

Book 1. of his History. Speaking of the Choice which *Philip* the Second made of *Don Diego de Covarrubias*, Bishop of *Segovia*, for the Place of President of *Castille*, which required a Man less Scrupulous, and more Politick; he tells us, That Prelate was a great Canonist, and led a retired Life, and was prefer'd solely upon the Account that Prince would not give him so great a Share of the Government, as he had done to his Predecessor Cardinal d'*Espinosa*. *Chap. 27. Book 9.*

(1) What

the Empire, pardons himself, and the rest, perfidiously perjure the Memory of a Man, whose Vanity they cherished by their Flatteries and base Submissions \* \* \* \* \* I cannot tell, whether it be worse to accuse a Friend, or to be accused for loving him \* \* \* \* \* I will not stand to experience the Clemency or Severity of any Man, but since I am free, and have a Conscience charged with no Guilt, I will prevent the Danger (1). In the mean time, Gentlemen, I conjure you, not to lament my Loss, but rank me in the Number of those, who by a voluntary Death have avoided publick Calamities (2).

VII. Afterward he spent one part of the Day in Receiving and Entertaining those who came to Visit him; and, before the Company was gone, without shewing any Signs of Fear in his Actions, or Countenance, he ran himself through with a Sword he had conceal'd under his Robe. *Tiberius* spake nothing ill of him after his Death, tho' he had reproached *Blasius* with several false and dissingenuous Acts.

VIII. After this, the Affair of *P. Vitellius*, and *Pompeius Secundus* came on: The first was accused of endeavouring to embroil the State, and using for this purpose, the Publick Treasure, and the Moneys design'd to pay the Soldiers. The other was accused by the late Praetor, *Considius*, of concealing in his Gardens, after the Death of *Sejanus*, *Aelius Gallus*, one of his Confidants. Both had recourse to the Generosity of their Brothers, who were Caution for them. After abundance

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) Whatever Persecution, or Disgrace a Man suffers, his Happiness is ten times greater than his Misfortune, when his Death does not reproach his Life.  
(2) A good Citizen thinks himself more happy in dying, than being a Spectator of the Calamities of his

Country. *Tacitus* commends the Happiness of his Father-in-Law, in not seeing the last Years of *Domitian*, the Senate besieged, the Consular Men massacred, the Roman Ladies proscribed and forced to flee, Informers triumphing on the publick Patience. In *Agricola*.

K

(1) There

dance of Delays, *Vitellius* tired with Suspence between Hope and Fear, procured a Pen-knife, pretending to want it for his Studies; and having lightly pricked his Veins, and wanting Courage to finish the Work, suffered himself to die of Melancholy. The other being a Man of a Gentile Humour, and excellent Wit, supported his Disgrace with an Equality of Mind (1), and survived the Emperour.

IX. They proposed next, to punish the rest of *Sejanus's* Children (1), tho' the Rage of the People was pretty well appeased by the former Executions. His Son and Daughter were imprisoned. The Boy knew well enough he was about to suffer; but the Daughter was so simple as to cry, as they carried her through the Streets, *What have I done?* That she should never come back: That if she had done amiss, they might whip her. The Writers of these Times tell us, that before she was strangled with her Brother, she was violated by the Executioner; because there never was a Precedent for punishing a Virgin with Death; and their Bo-

dies

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) There is more Greatness of Soul required to support Adversity constantly, than to condemn Death, because one is weary of Life: You will more easily find Persons resolved to die, than such as are able to bear Affliction with Patience. The Cardinal *du Perron* says, Courage

does not consist in appearing brave, in fighting a Duel, but in resisting Difficulties, Fatigues, Labour, and encountering Necessities. *P. rromana.*

(1) If Offences are Personal, it seems unjust to punish the Children of those who have made any Attempt on the Person of a lawful Prince

#### HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

*Tacitus* tells us in the beginning of the Fourth Book, That *Sejanus* had Three Children and speaks here of Two, which were put to Death; so that probably, the Eldest was put to Death with his Father.

She was of an Age to understand her Misfortune, and talk otherwise than she does; since it was then Ten or Eleven Years since she had been given to *Drusus*, the Son of *Claudius*.

HISTO-

dies were thrown into the publick Jakes, without regard to their Sex, or Age.

X. About this time a Report ran through *Greece*, and *Asia*, which lasted but a small time, but alarm'd People much, That *Drusus*, the Son of *Germanicus*, had appeared in the Isles *Cyclades* (1), and the neighbouring Coasts. It was a young Man, of an Age near his, followed by some Servants of *Tiberius*, with a Design to betray him: Those who did not know him, flock'd to see him, drawn by the Greatness of his Name, and the Natural Curiosity the *Greeks* have, for whatever is new and wonderful. It was reported, and believed together, that he had escaped out of Prison, and was fled to the Legions of his Father, to make himself Master of *Egypt* and *Syria* (2). The Youth every

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

Prince: Yet there are some Politicians of Opinion, the Brethren, Children of such Criminals ought to be put to Death. For my part, says *Nicholas Pasquier*, speaking of *Ravillac's* Sentence, had I assisted in it, I would have proceeded farther: The Father, Mother, Brothers and Sisters should all have died with him — since the Torments of a few Hours cannot hinder devilish Spirits from assassinaing Princes; perhaps the Fear a Father shall have of exposing his Wife, and Children; or a Son his Father, Mother, Brothers and Sisters to an ignominious and cruel Death, will prevent their putting in Execution such rash and dangerous Enterprizes: The Paternal or filial Love will terrifie them more than the Rigour of Tortures, against which several are Proof, who have no regard to their Lives. This was practis'd at *Rome*, where the Children of *Sejanus*, though innocent, were put to Death with their

Father; and at *Milan*, the Wives and Children, who murdered the Duke *Galeas Sforza* condemned to die, their Houses demolished, and the Fruit-Trees in their Lands rooted up. In the first of his Letters.

(1) It is not so much Ceremony, as Reason of State, that makes it a Custom to expose the Bodies of Princes after their decease. As there are every-where Impostors, and always some one or other resembles in Countenance, Stature, or Age, a deceased Prince, it behoves his Successor, for the Quiet of his Government, to obviate all Cheats, that the Malice of seditious and discontented Persons, or neighbouring Princes can set on foot. *Perkin Warbeck* created a great Disturbance in *England*, pretending himself to be the Son of *Edward* the Fourth, and rightful Heir of the Crown. In the Year 1670, a *Cossack*, by Name *Stenko Razin*, raised almost all *Moscow*, and gathered an Army of Two hundred

K 2

dred

every-where joyn'd with him, and where-ever he pass'd, paid publick Honours to him: He, transported with the Caresses of the People, and vain Hopes, never once thought of the Dangers which threatned him. This News reaching the Ears of *Poppæus Sabinus*, who commanded then in *Greece*, and was employ'd at that time in *Macedonia*, to prevent Reports, true, or false, he immediately passes the Gulphs of *Thermes*, and *Thoronee*, and *Eubea*, an Isle in the *Ægean Sea*, makes the Port of the *Pireum*, and the Coast of *Corinth*, passes the Streights, and arrives by another Sea at *Nicopolis*, a Roman Colony; there he meets this young Man, and learns from him, that he was the Son of *Marcus Silanus*; that most of his Followers had deserted him, and that he was going to embark for *Italy*. All which *Sabinus* writ to *Tiberius*. The Sequel is unknown to us.

XI. About the End of this Year hapned a Discord between the two Consuls, which increased every Day, 'till it broke forth publickly. *Trion*, who was bred to the Bar, and not very sollicitous what Enemies he made, accused his Colleague, of Conniving at the Ministers of *Sejanus*. *Regulus*, a Man of a mild Temper, but

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

dred thousand Men by a Report, which he caus'd to be spread, that *Czarowitz*, Eldest Son to the Great *Czar*, who died the Seventeenth of *January* that Year, was yet alive, and had fled to him for Assistance, to oppose the Lords in Rebellion against his Father. I have spoken in the *Historical Notes*, before, of Two *Hermites*, who revived *Don Sebastian*, the last King of *Portugal*, in their Person. In the Year 1600, there ap-

pear'd at *Venice*, and after in *Tuscany*, a Third *Sebastian*, whom the Grand Duke seized, and sent into *Spain*. Perhaps it is to obviate this Inconvenience, that the *Polanders* never interr their King, till they have chosen his Successor.

(2) When a Prince, who Reigns, is hated, the People is always disposed to favour those, who would dethrone him.

but furious when he was exasperated, was not content to defend himself, but accused the other of being an Accomplise in that Conspiracy. And altho' divers of their Friends in the Senate, conjur'd them to stifle the Quarrels, they continued to menace each other to the End of their Consulate.

K 3

THE

POLITI-

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THE  
 ANNALS  
 OF  
 CORNELIUS TACITUS,  
 IN THE  
 Year of ROME, 789.

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The Sixth Book.

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I. **U**nder the Consulate of *Cneius Domitius*, and *Camillus Scribonianus*, the Emperour quitted his Retreat, and past that Arm of the Sea, which is between *Surrentum*, and *Caprea*, and coasted along *Campania*, uncertain whether he should enter into *Rome*, or rather making a Feint of doing so, since he had been long resolved to the contrary: But at last, after many Tours to and fro, he came to the Gardens on the *Tiber*, and then made back to his Rocks and Solitude, ashamed of his infamous

Debauches (1): For he was arrived at that Height of Lewdness, that after the Manner of the barbarous Kings, he had a Troop of young Lads, who served for his Criminal Pleasures. It was not their Beauty or Shape which he chiefly regarded, but, in some, their Modesty, and the Simplicity of their Age; in others, the Splendour of their Ancestors, served as a Spur to his Appetite. In short, he was so extravagant in his Vices, that to express them, they were forced to invent the New Terms of *Sellarii*, and *Spintriae*, Names derived from the Filthiness of the Place, and the Diversity of Postures and Actions of the Pathicks: He had Slaves kept on purpose to fetch in little Boys and Girls, and force them from their Fathers and Mothers, when they refused to give them up willingly, as so many Ca-

ptives

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) We must not wonder, says a great Modern Orator, at the Style and Form, which the Church makes use of, when she prays for Kings and Sovereign Princes: As she proportions her Zeal, and the Terms of her Prayers to the Necessities, and ordinary Failings of those whom she prays for, she begs of God, to prevent Kings with such Grace, that they may eschew those Monsters of Vices, *Vitiorum monstra devitare*, not only Sins and common Vices, but monstrous Vices: For their Liberty unconfined, the Power of executing their Will, the frequent Temptations, the subtle Insinuations of the Ministers of their Pleasures; the base Submission of their Flatterers, and a certain Impunity usually raise their vitious Inclinations to the highest Pitch of Wickedness. Thus, if a Prince be Cruel, he fills every place with Outlawries, Executions; if he is Covetous, he is a very Abyss; if he is Ambitious, he shall seek new Worlds; if he be

Lewd, he fills every place with his Adulteries, Incests, Abominations, Infamies and Monsters: For if we call the irregular Productions of Nature by that Name, we may doubtless say, whatever is monstrous in Vice, is to be found in a Prince, who abandons himself to all manner of Lewdness. *Francis Ogier* in the Funeral Oration of *Lewis* the Thirteenth, which is one of the most excellent Pieces of our Age, and worthy to be propos'd as a Model to Preachers, who ought to remember, that a Funeral Oration is not less intended to deplore the Misery and Frailty of the greatest Men, than to celebrate their Virtues; and, by consequence, that it ought not to be a Discourse abandoned to excessive Figures, and immense Hyperboles; or a Discourse full of Disguise, and subtle Impostures\*, as most of the Funeral Harangues of our Times are. *Ibidem*.

(2) Those

ptives, and to make them Presents when they consented (2).

II. In the beginning of this Year, at Rome, divers Orders of the Senate were made, to demolish the Statues, and raze the Memory of the younger *Livia*; as if they had discovered some New Crimes, which yet remained unpunished; and the *Scipio's* proposed to remove the Effects of *Sejanus*, from the Publick Treasury, to the Fisque; and the *Silanii* and the *Cassii* promoted this Matter with abundance of Eagerness and Warmth. Upon this Occasion, *Togonius Gallus*, a Man of mean Extraction, endeavouring to Rival the highest Flatterers, exposed himself to the Publick Laughter. He declared, it was his Opinion, *The Prince should chuse twenty Senators, to attend him in Arms, when he should come into the House*, (1). He had formed this extravagant Design upon a Letter of *Tiberius*, in which he complains, That he could not come with Safety to Rome, unless one of the Consuls should come to Guard him. This Prince mix'd his Jest with his most serious Affairs (2). After he had returned the Senate

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(2) Those Fathers and Mothers, who deliver up their Children voluntarily, to serve the infamous Pleasures of a Prince plunged in Debauchery, are more Criminal than the Prince who forces them away: But, is it possible, there should be Fathers and Mothers, who can sell their Daughters to so vile Purposes?

(1) We must not pretend to flatter Princes, who have a nice Sense of Things, without seasoning it to their Palate; otherwise, instead of pleasing, we shall be sure of being contented. The Emperor *Sigismond* gave a Box of the Ear to a Courtier, who flattered him, who complaining of this ill Usage; told him, It

was for affronting him with his saucy Praise.

(2) It is not a Fault in a Prince, to mix some Pleasantry in his Discourses, when he does it to the Purpose, and with Dignity. The Answer of the Emperor *Frederick* the Third, to the Lord de la Brosse, Ambassador of *Lewis* the Eleventh's, who propos'd to him the seizing all the Lordships, which the Duke of *Burgundy* held in the Empire, whilst *Lewis* took those which he held of the Crown of France, is of this kind. He related to him, the Fable of the Bear, whose Skin Three honest drunken Fellows were to pay their Landlord with: The Bear forced two of them

to

Senate Thanks for their Care, began to ask *Togonius*, How this must be done? Whether he must always take the same, or now and then change them for others? Whether they should be chosen out of the Young or the Old, the Simple Senators, or the Magistrates? Then, What a Noble Sight it would be, to see Senators with their Swords by their Sides (3), at the Entry of the House. Adding, That his Life was not so valuable, as to preserve it with so much Trouble. Thus this Motion was rejected with an easie Raillery (4), without proceeding further.

III. But

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to flie, and taking the third, put his Snout to his Ear, and went away, without doing him any great hurt, he counterfeiting himself dead. After his Companions coming to him, ask'd him, What Advice the Bear had given him? He told me, says he, I should never sell the Skin of a Bear, till the Beast was dead. *Lewis* the Eleventh often mixed Pleasantry with his most serious Affairs: *Fregoso* and *Grimaldi*, Ambassadors of *Genoa*, coming to intreat him, to accept the Sovereignty of that Government, made them take the Oath of Fidelity; and then told them, *Well now*, says he, *you belong to me, I deliver you up with all my heart to the Devils, like Traitors as you are, who have so often broke your Faith to your Masters.*

(3) It does not become Men of the long Robe and Civil Employments to wear the Sword, no more, than it becomes Military Men to wear the Robe: It is to be wished, the first would do as much Honour to the Robe, as the other do to the Sword, never to quit it.

(4) Raillery is a most sensible Thing, and which Princes ought ever carefully to avoid: The Respect due to them, covers them from Repry, but not from Resentment. Wounds made by a Sword, says a

great Minister, are easily cured; but not those of the Tongue, especially that of Princes, whose Authority makes their Blows irremediable, unless it proceeds from themselves. A Man, who does not fear being run through by the Sword of his Enemy cannot endure the least Scratch from his Prince. In the *Politick Testament*, Part 1. Chap. 6. Thus, *Montaigne Bayle* has judiciously observed, That a Man must not be acquainted with the Humour of the most Christian King, to think he could ever say to a Governour of a Place, who walking near him, hit him on the Legs, with the End of his Sword, *Your Sword never hurts any Body but me.* For there is no appearance, that a Prince, naturally Good and Generous, would pronounce such a Word, that must strike deeper upon a Gentleman, than a Sentence of Death pronounced by a Court of Justice: It is more probable, the Enemies of the Governour ascribed these Words to the King, to make the Raillery take deeper Impression. *Republic of Letters*, Month of March, 1684. Pag. 44. The Raillery of *Lewis* the Eleventh, on the Duchess of *Savoy*, his Sister, calling her *Madam de Bourgogne* for the strict Friendship she mentioned with the Duke *Charles*, was within the Rules of *Decorum*, since it was only

III. But he was more severe against *Junius Gallio*, who proposed to admit the Soldiers of the Guards, who had compleated their Time of Service, to sit in the Fourteen first Ranks of the Amphitheater; asking him, as if he had been present, What he had to do with the Soldiers, who received their Orders from their Prince, whose Business it was to see their Services recompens'd (1)? Whether he thought he had discovered something, which escaped the Providence of Augustus? Or rather, if this was not an Artifice of a Minister of *Sejanus*, under this specious Pretext, to destroy Military Discipline, and then raise a Sedition, under Colour of obtaining this new Place of Honour. *Gallio* for a Reward of his premeditated Flattery, was first expelled the Senate, and after banished Italy: But seeing his Exile would be too easie in so fine a Country as the Isle of *Lesbos*, he was remanded back, and put under a Guard of Magistrates. In the same Letters the Emperour accused *Sextus Paconianus*, a turbulent dangerous Fellow, who insinuated himself into the Secrets of Families, and made use of these to his Advancement, and their Ruin. *Sejanus* had pitch'd upon him, as his Instrument, to take off *Caligula*. As soon as this was discovered, the Hatred they bore him, appeared evidently, and they would have proceeded to pass the Sentence of Death, had not he declared, he would accuse *Latiaris*.

IV. After

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a Word of Course, in which he figured all the Cause of their Misunderstanding, and that their Reconciliation was sincere, and without any of the old Ferment left.

(1) Princes will be acknowledged, not only for the first, but the only Authors of all Favours: They will not admit Subjects to share any part of the Gratitude and Acknowledgment. The Spanish *Commines* tells us, That *Don Diego de Yezpe*, Bishop

of *Tarazona*, had related to him, how, upon a certain time *Philip* the Second, whose Confessor he was, stopp'd the Expedition of a Bishoprick, which he had already given, upon notice that he to whom he had given it had an Intercessor at Court, whom he had applied himself too to obtain it. Chap. 157. Letter M. The more able a Prince is, the more nice he is in this Matter. *Sisto Quin-*to gave a fair Instance of this Temper

IV. After he had mentioned that Name, the Accuser, and the Person accused, being alike hateful to the Senate, gave them an agreeable Entertainment. The latter had been the principal Instrument in the Ruine of *Sabinus*, and was the first punished for it. Whilst these Matters were in Agitation, *Haterius Agrippa*, attacked the Consuls of the preceding Year, demanding, *Why they were silent now, since they had mutually accused each other the last Year*: Adding, *That they desisted by common Consent, both being alike culpable, and as they apprehended to be equally punished; but that the Senate could not in Conscience pass by what they had heard.* *Regulus* replied, *He persisted in his Accusation, and should be ready to justify*

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per to the Cardinals *de Medicis d'Este*, and *Alexandrin*, who presented his Sister *Dominica Camilla* in the Habit of a Roman Princess: We have, says he, but one Sister, and she a plain Country Woman, and this Woman you present us is a Roman Princess, we cannot own her for our Sister; and so passing into another Chamber, he left them all four in Confusion; whereas next day returning to have her Audience in her ordinary Country Dress, he embraced her tenderly, with these Words; Now, says he, I own you for my real Sister, and now we will make you a Roman Princess, without any other to help us. *Leti in the Fifth Book of the First Part of his History of that Pope.* Monsieur the Cardinal *de Richelieu* enquiring, whether it be the Interest of a Government to suppress the Practice of selling and inheriting Offices, and bestowing them *Gratia*, concludes against this Suppression, because it would be a means for Favourites and great Men, to make Creatures at the Expence of their Prince: Although, says he, the Suppression of selling and inheriting Of-

fices be agreeable to Reason, and conform to the Constitutions of Equity, yet there would be unavoidable Abuses, if the Distribution of all Offices depended upon the Pleasure of the King, which makes the present Practice more tolerable than heretofore: It is impossible to acknowledge, that in such Cases the Artifices of the Court prevail more than Reason, and Favour more than Merit. Nothing gave the Duke of *Guise* a greater Opportunity of heading the League against *Henry* the Third, than the great Number of Officers that his Credit had brought into the principal Posts of the Kingdom. And I have heard the Duke of *Sully* say, This Consideration was the most prevailing Motive with the late King to settle the *Droit Annuel*, in which that Prince did not so much regard the Profit he might draw from it, as the means for the future to prevent the like Inconvenience; so on this occasion he preferred the Interest of the State to that of his Exchequer, which commonly had a great Influence on him.

(1) Many

this Charge, when the Emperour should return. *Trion* flung all upon the Emulation, natural to Collegues, and that what they had said in the Heat of their Dispute, ought to be buried in Eternal Silence (1). As *Agrippa* insisted, *Sanquinus Maximus*, one of the Consular Men, conjured the Senate, Not to augment the Chagrin of the Emperour, by forced Accusations, which would only serve to exasperate him; that his Prudence was able to apply convenient Remedies, when they should be needful: Which saved *Regulus*, and deferred the Ruine of his Rival. But *Haterius* grew more odious than ever; and it was hateful to see a Man, plunged in Debauchery, and plotting amidst his Wine, and his Women, the Ruine of the most Illustrious Persons, whilst himself was secure from the Anger of a Prince, how cruel soever, by his Idle Life.

V. After *Cotta Messalinus*, hated a long time for his cruel Advice, was accused upon the first Occasion, which presented itself, for taxing *Caligula* with Incest and Prostitution; and, that being at Table with the Priests, who were celebrating the Birth-Day of the Empress, he had called it, *The Novendial Banquet*. They added, a Third Accusation, That upon Occasion of a Process he had depending against *M. Lepidus*, and *Lucius Arruntius*, who had a great Interest, he had said, *They may have the Senate for them, but I shall have my little Tiberius for me.* But as he saw the principal Senators were his Enemies, he appealed to the Emperour; who some time after, sent his Letters, with an Apology for the Offender. For recounting Things from the first beginning of their Friendship, he reckoned up all the Good Services *Cotta* had done him; and concluded, *That they*

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(1) Many things are said in the / pented of after the Flame is over.  
Heat of a Quarrel, which are re-

(1) The

they ought not to make a Crime of some few Words, wrested to a forced Sense, nor pleasant Stories, which became the Liberty of a Table. (1).

VI. The beginning of this Letter, was very singular, in these Words, *What I shall write to you, Gentlemen, or how I shall write, or rather, whether I shall not write to you at all, in this unhappy Time; If I know any thing, may all the Gods, and Goddesses, cause me to die a more cruel Death than that I suffer every Day*<sup>a</sup>. Thus was he tormented in his Conscience, with the Image of his Crimes. And certainly it was not without Reason, that Great Wise Man has said, If we could open the Breasts of Tyrants, we should find them with a Thousand Stripes, and Stabs, since the Body can never suffer greater Torture than the Mind, by Cruelty, Ambition

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(1) The times of feeding (says Antonio Perez.) are dedicated to Pleasantries and Impertinence. *In the Apophorisms of his Second Letters*. That which M<sup>r</sup> de Montresor told the Marquis de Grammont is very singular. The Count de Guiche did an Action, which commended him to the Consideration of Cardinal Richelieu, whereas they might have ruin'd him one Evening, that Monsieur Supped with Ten or Twelve Gentlemen: This Count was drunk

to that excess, that he told him at a full Table, That it had been proposed to him, to be first Gentleman of his Chamber, but that he would not accept it, to act the part of a Traytor as his other Domesticks did, whom he named; adding, that he was a Man of Quality, and would act like an honest Man: That he was in Service of the Cardinal against him, and all the Royal Family: Which Words pleased the Cardinal very much, though they were very

#### HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>a</sup> Suetonius relates the same Words, and tells us, He writ this Letter, foreseeing how odious his Memory would be, and treated with Infamy. *Existimant quidam, multo ante; quanta se quandoque acerbitas & infamia morderet, prospexisse*. In Tiberio.

Where

Ambition, and Lust (1). Tiberius was neither Secure in his Fortune, nor at Rest in his Solitude, and the Violence of the Pangs, obliged him to confess the Torments he suffered.

VII. Now the Senate seeing themselves at Liberty to punish the Senator, Cecilianus, who had alledged several Things against Cotta, condemned him to the same Punishment, they before had decreed, for Aruseius and Sanguinius, the Accusers of L. Arruntius (1). The greatest Honour that could befall Cotta, to have the Senate revenge his Quarrel, as they had done that of any honest Man: For Cotta, tho' Noble, by his Birth, had led an infamous Life, and drained his Wealth in his Debauches (2); whereas Arruntius had ever been famous

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very impertinently spoken: *In his Memoirs*. An Instance, which clearly shews us, there are some Rashnesses more happy than all Human Wisdom.

— *Plus fati valet hora benigni, Quam si te Veneris commendet Epistola Marti.*

(1) Poor Men, and those who work hard for the Sustainance of themselves and their Families, and pay Tolls and Subsidies to their Lords, would be a very deplorable State, if Princes and Great Men enjoy'd only the Pleasures of this World, and they the Misery and Labour: But the Case is quite different, and if I should apply my self to write the Passions, which I have seen Great Men endure, I should make a very Voluminous Book: Those, who were not so nearly concerned with them as my self, esteemed them happy; but I have seen them out of Humour very often, and that only upon Jealousies, Reports; which is a hidden Malady, which much reigns

in the Families of Princes, whence great Mischiefs arise, as well to themselves, as their Subjects. *Memoirs of Commynes, Book 8. Chap. 13.* If it be true, as Antonio Perez tells us, That a Wish in a Prince, which cannot be accomplished, disturbs and mortifies Princes more than a Thousand Offences; there are few that can sleep in quiet, for their Ambition makes them desire a great many things above their Power and Industry.

(1) Those Judges, who punish Injuries done to a publick Rascal, as severely as those done to a Man, whose Reputation is without blemish, and of undoubted Probity, do more Dishonour to themselves than Honour to the Person, whose Injuries they revenge.

(2) That Man is doubly infamous, who after he has impoverished himself by his Debauches, seeks to re-establish his Fortune by his Crimes. Luxurious living is a Malady incurable; Poverty bereaves us of the Means, but leaves the Desire unextinguished; generally the worst Villains,



famous for his Integrity and Honour. After was proposed the Affair of *Quintus Servans*, and *Minutius Therminus*: The first had been Prætor, and followed *Germanicus* in his Eastern Voyage; and the other, descended of Roman Knights, and in Favour with *Sejanus* (3), without ever abusing his Advantage, which rendered them more regretted (4): But *Tiberius* cried, They were the principal Villains, and commanded *C. Cestius* the Father, to communicate to the Senate, what he had writ to him: So *Cestius* undertook the Accusation. It was one of the greatest Grievances and Miseries of those Times, that the principal Senators were obliged to become Informers, either in Publick, or Private. There was no Distinction of Kinsmen or Strangers, Friends or Enemies, Old or New Offences, where, or on what Account, for Words or for Actions, every Man was either Informer, or Party accused; as in a Publick Contagion, either to preserve themselves at another's Expence, or in Compliance with a pernicious Custom. *Minutius*, and *Servans*, after their Condemnation, informed against *Julius Africanus*, a Native of *Saintes*, a City of *Gaul*, and *Sejus Quadratus*, whose Origin I do not find. I am not ignorant, that divers Historians have omitted a great part of these Accusations, fearing to disgust their Readers with a great deal of Matter which

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lains are those Courtiers, who being used to lead a voluptuous Life, and having not wherewithal to continue it, have no refuge, but to comply with the Times: And for this Reason, the *Mareschal d'Ancre*, the *Sejanus* of *France*, would only take such Persons into his Service.

(3) When a Favourite, or first Minister, falls into Disgrace, a Prince will not give himself Pains to examine, whether his Friends are innocent; he looks upon all those as his Enemies, who followed the Fortune of

his disgraced Favourite. It often happens, that he, who is most moderate, is most suspected by the Prince, since he is always apt to think him least capable of renouncing his Friendship to that Subject, whom he has forsaken.

(4) A Subject unjustly put to Death by a Prince, must think himself fully revenged, when his Death is accompanied with the Regrets and Complaints of the People, which publish his Innocence.

(1) The

which is tedious and melancholy to themselves; but divers Memoirs have fallen into my Hands, which History makes no mention of, tho' they are very considerable, and deserve our Notice.

VIII. At a time when all the World disowned the Friendship of *Sejanus* (1), there was a Roman Knight who had the Boldness to avow it publicly, tho' it was objected as a Crime to him; his Name was *Marcus Tullius*, and he spake in the Senate in this manner: Perhaps, Gentlemen, in the Condition I am in, it would be more expedient for me to deny my Crime, than to acknowledge it; but whatever the Event be, I will frankly confess, I court the Friendship of *Sejanus*, and was very glad when I had obtained it (2). I saw him Captain of the Guards, with his Father, and after Governing both City and Army together, I saw his Kinsmen, and Friends, raised to Honours and Dignities (3), and all Men esteemed by the Emperor, as they were by his Favourite. His Enemies, on the contrary, were turned, and languished in Disgrace and Misery (4). I will not

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(1) The Reason why most Favourites are abandoned by their Creatures in their Disgrace, is, because during their Favour, they exact so much Submission, so much Complaisance, so much Subjection, that those who owe their Fortune to them, hardly think themselves obliged to them; and the Power of the Favourite, ceasing, Ingratitude succeeds in the Place of Dependence, and every one is apt to say, *We are quit*.

(2) Princes, who understand Moderation and Generosity, always esteem honest Men, who prefer their private Interest, and the avowal of Truth, to a base Complaisance. See the first Reflection on the following Chapter.

(3) Favourites always endeavour to advance their Kindred. For they can only build on these sort of Friends

in a Reverse of Fortune: Most commonly, the rest prove faithless. The Tie of Blood, says *Titus* to his Father, is indissoluble: A thousand People share in the Prosperity of Princes, and Great Men; but, their Kindred only partake of their Misfortunes. *Tac. Hist. 4.*

(4) Here, says the Spanish Commenter, we may justly apply that Jest, or rather Pedantry, of *Monsiemo*, who tells us, That in *Spain*, the Favourites are called *Privados*, because they deprive all the other Servants, and Courtiers, of their Share of Favour and Benefits. See the End of Chap. 178. And for this Reason the Duke d'Espernon, telling *Poncet*, a Monk, That a Preacher ought to edify, and not make his Audience laugh: The other replied, He never made so many laugh in all his Life, as the Duke

not Name any Man, but in defending my self, I defend those who were not his Accomplices in the last Conspiracy. Let no Man accuse us, Gentlemen, of making our Court to Sejanus. It was not Sejanus of the Volturni, that we adored; it was a Member of the Illustrious Houses of the Julii, and the Claudii, into whose Alliance he was entered; he was a Son-in-Law of the Emperour, his Colleague in his Consulate; it was one who represented his Person, and upon whom he had discharged the Cares of the Empire. It is not of our Business to enquire, who he is that the Prince raises above other Persons, nor why he Honours him with his Friendship. It is the Prerogative of our Prince, which he derives from Heaven, to judge of his Ministers (5), and it is our Duty to Obey him. We only see Things by their outward Appearance: The Man to whom he bestows Charges, Honours, and Dignities, it is to him we address our selves, as the Arbiters of our Fortunes (6): We are not permitted to proceed further, or lift up the Veil, which conceals the Mysteries of Sovereigns, which would be a vain Attempt (7). Do not consider,

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Duke had made to weep since his Favour. *Journal of the Reign of Henry the Third.*

(5) Princes have an absolute Power, without doubt; but sometimes they want an equal Justice: The Difference between the Good and the Bad, is, That those do what they can, without regarding what they ought; and the others, what they ought, and not what they can. But whatever they do, they ought only to render an Account to God.

(6) A plain Declaration, 'tis his Favour, not the Favourite, who is adored. Cardinal *Mazarine*, did not think himself obliged to these for the Honours they paid him, who neglected him, whilst the Faction of the *Fronde* prevailed. In one of his Letters he reflects on the late Complements made him by the Parliament of Gui-

enne: The Gentlemen of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, says he, have made a Deputation to me, which will meet me to Morrow at *L'abbaye*; which is more than they ever used to do. I would have dispensed with them for this Complement. I would not have you think this extraordinary Civility has much elevated me, since their ungentle Carriage to me, at *Bordeaux*, and not Visiting me there, was no more judice to me. These are your Men of Conscience, who will be seen paying me with Interest, that which they unjustly robbed me of.

(7) The Projects and Methods of Kings, says *Antonio Perez*, only Kings can clearly discern. In his *Apophthegms*, The Motions on which Princes act, are concealed under a thousand false Appearances, which

days, Gentlemen, the Last Day of the Fortune of Sejanus, was the Sixteen Years of his Greatness and Power. We held it our Honour to be known to his Porters, and his Menial Servants (8); we adored even to *Satrius*, and *Pomponius*. Well, then, you will reply to me, what shall all the Friends of Sejanus be declared innocent? By no means; let those suffer just Punishment, who have conspired with him against the Prince; the others, for having loved him, are not more culpable than the Emperour himself.

(9) The Liberty of this Harangue (1), and the Pleasure to see a Man who had the Boldness to speak, what others thought there, made such an Impression on our Spirits, that his Accusers, as well for those as other Crimes, were punished with Death or Banishment. These Executions were followed by Letters of *Grace*, against *Senius Vestilius*, a Prætorian, whom he had received into the Number of his Friends, after the Death of his Brother *Drusus*, by whom he was extremely beloved. He was accused as the Author of some

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hinder those from discovering them, who are nearest to their Persons. We then see only the Preferences they use; their Designs, like those Fountains which play highest in the Air, have their Springs the deepest.

(8) At Court, no one regards what the Persons are whom he has to deal with, but what is their immediate Power and Credit with the Prince, or his Ministers: For this reason, *Antonio Perez* tells us, in one of his Second Letters, The best Recommendation, is, to be possessed of a Place where others stand in need of us. *Mexeray* tells us, The Chancellor de *Birague*, had a greater Credit to a Valet in Favour, than to all the Laws of the Kingdom. This Chancellor, in our Times, would find abundance of Magistrates of the same Character.

(1) Tho' ill Princes fear and hate nothing more than a Liberty of Speaking, yet they will not fail to esteem and love it, when it is accompanied with Freedom and Generosity. *Commines* tells us, That *Lewis* the Eleventh was so pleased with the Replies of *Messire Jacques de St. Pol*, upon occasion of the Constable his Brother, that, a little time after, he let him out of Prison, gave him a Company of the *Gen'd arms*, and made use of him 'till his Death; and his Replies, says he, were the Cause. Chap. 4. Book 4. *Cerbon de Castello*, ancient Servant and Domestick of the Lords *Pagolo Vitelli* and *Vitellazzo*, was interrogated on a Letter he had writ to them in these Terms: Having bred you as my own proper Children, I could not but have for you the Tenderness of a Father: Where-

some Satyr against the Amours of Caligula (2). Whether this Crime were real, or only pretended, the Emperor took this Pretext, to interdict him the Table of the Prince; upon which he resolved to kill himself: After cutting his Veins, with a trembling aged Hand, he repented immediately, and caused his Wounds to be bound up, in hopes of obtaining Grace (3); finding *Tiberius* inflexible, he opened them, and died instantly. After they accused all together, for High-Treason, *Annius Pollio*, *Appianus Silanus*, *Mamercus Scaevola*, and *Calpurnius Sabinus*, to whom they added *Vindex*, the Son of *Pollio*, all Persons considerable for their Birth, and some in the highest Dignities, which struck a Terror into the Senate: For who is not Relation, or Friend, to so many illustrious Persons? But *Calpurnius*, one of the Witnesses, discharged *Calpurnius*, and *Silanus*, and the Emperor remitted the others to his Return, to try them with the Senate: But he did not forget to give some Marks of his Aversion to *Scaevola*.

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

Wherefore, says he, I beseech you not to embark in any Enterprize that may stain the Glory of your Family; or at least to give me timely Notice, that I may go to some Place of Safety. He answered bravely, That as he would never reveal the Designs of Two Friends who had put their Confidence in him; so he would never consent to have a part in the Execution of their ill-Designs against the Republick of Florence. And this ingenious Declaration, says *Nardi*, saved his Life, tho' he was Criminal in concealing the Traitorous Practices of General *Pagola*, who was beheaded, Book 3. of his History of Florence.

(2) The Composing of Satyrs is always a dangerous Trade, and the Author ever runs a risk of expen-

sing himself to the Hatred of the offended Reader, as well as the Person whom he intends to expose. But when Satyrs made on Great Men Reproach them with Vices which the Prince is Guilty of, the Author runs a Risk to be punished by the Prince, who has Room to think himself Attack'd under another Name, according to that of the Poet

—Mutato Nomine de te  
Fabula narratur.

which probably was that which removed *Sextus Vestilius*.

(3) Great Men have abundance of Difficulty to divest themselves of the Love of Life.

## X. Wo-

X. Women were not exempt from Danger; and since they could not be accused of aspiring to Empire, their Tears were made criminal, and *Vinia*, an Aged Lady, Mother of *Fusus Geminus*, was put to Death for lamenting the Death of her Son (1). These Things were transacted in the Senate: But the Emperour, on his part, caused *Vesularius Flaccus*, and *Julius Marinus*, to be executed, two of his most ancient Friends, who accompanied him in *Rhodes*, and were his inseparable Companions in the *Capreae*. The first had been employed to discover the Conspiracy of *Libo* (2); and the other had been an Instrument of *Sejanus*, to ruine *Curvius Atticus*; and every one was pleased, to see their perfidious Practices reveng'd on their Authors (3).

## XL. About

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) When Parents are denied to view their Grief for the Loss of their Children, or Children to Grieve for the Loss of their Parents, a Man may say, Tyranny is arrived at its highest Period: The Laws of Nature are above those of any Civil Society, and the Prince is the Interpreter of these; but the others are not under his Jurisdiction; and he himself is as much subject to them as the meanest Man: For this Reason *Dionysius* the Tyrant said, Princes may change the Laws of their Countries, but they cannot alter the Laws of Nature, of which they are not Arbiters. *Charles* the Fifth shewed how much he was convinced of this Truth, when *Don Athanasio de Ayala*, one of his Pages, answering him, He had sold his Horse to maintain his Father, who was Prisoner for High-Treason, rewarded him very far from bearing a Grudge to him, for this Act of filial Piety. *Epitome of his Life*, by Don Juan Antonio de Vera.

(2) Favour which arises from ac-

comodating ones self to the vicious Inclinations of a Prince, is seldom of any long Continuance; and very often this Criminal Complaisance is paid by the Prince, with the Punishment it merits.

(3) As ill Men have no greater pleasure than to see good Men suffer, so good Men cannot receive greater Consolation, than to see ill Men punish'd: Thus *Phalaris* did an Act of Justice, and set a good Example, when he made the Inventor of his brazen Bull first prove this ingenious Cruelty. That Bishop of *Verden*, who invented Iron Cages, to shut up those, who were suspected by the King, like so many wild Beasts, was the first, by the just Judgment of God, whom *Lewis* the Eleventh put in, and kept up Fourteen Years: A fit Residence for such a Person, who instead of looking after the Affairs of his Church, and discharging the Duty of a good Shepherd in feeding his Flock, had abandoned his Sacred Function, to become an Executioner at Court.

XI. About this time, died the Pontiff, *Lucius Pius*, of a Natural Death; a Thing very rare in those Days, considering the Greatness of his Character. We have no Account, that he ever gave any servile Advice (1), and when he was compelled to approve that of his Companions, it was never without some mitigation. I have elsewhere observed, that his Father was Censor. For himself, he died at the Age of Fourscore Years, and had the Honour of Triumph in *Thrace* <sup>b</sup>; but his greatest Glory was, that he had been Governour of *Rome* <sup>c</sup>, for the space of Twenty Years, and had preserved so just a Temper in all that time, in the Exercise of a Power which they were not accustomed to obey (2).

Here

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) When Ability and honest Principles meet in the same Person, he may preserve himself from the Corruption of the Times. Such was the Chancellor of the Hospital, who living in an Age, when the Ancient Probity, was entirely banished out of the Kingdom, did not affect to appear, but endeavour to be really just, who by an inflexible Constancy, and a just Moderation, had fortified himself against all Hatred and Favour, who amongst so many ill Men, as that Age produced, dared to be good. This is the Character which *Nicholas Paphluter* gives of him in his Letters, Book 6. The Chancellor of the Hospital makes me remember *Felix Ryski*, great

Chancellor of Poland, who merits to be compared with him; according to the Epigram given him by a Bishop of his Country. He was a Man, says he, of an agreeable Genius, a Polite Eloquence; and, which is more uncommon, in such a high Station, never did wrong to any Man. *Pisetti* in his Chronicle, in the Year, 1671. The Cardinal *Alessandro Salsati*, *rato* being asked, How the Pope would agree with the Austerity of Cordeliers, replied, It was no more difficult to be Wise amongst Fools, than in good Health amongst the Sick.

(2) Magistrates of a new Creation are always odious to the People, because they look upon them as

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

<sup>a</sup> Where he was, Lieutenant of *Augustus*, there was kindled a new War in *Thrace*, which, says *Paterculus*, was extinguished by *Lucius Pius*, who is at present the Guardian of our City, which he governs with Mildness and Vigilance. *Hist.* 2. Chap. 98.

<sup>c</sup> The *Præfectus Urbis*, was properly the Civil and Criminal Lieutenant of *Rome*; for he did not only punish Malefactors, but had the Superintendence of the whole Policy. *Suetonius* tells us, *Tiberius* gave him this Government after he had passed Two whole Nights in Drinking with him.

Sue-

Heretofore, during the Absence of our Kings, lest the City should remain without a Master, they chose an Officer to administer Justice, and prevent all Accidents that might happen: *Denter Romulus* was first constituted by *Romulus*, and after *Numa Marcius*, by *Tullus Hostilius*, and *Spurius Lucretius*, by *Tarquin* the Proud. The Consuls did the same thing, and we have some Remains of this Custom still in choosing one, during the *Feria Latina*, to execute the Consular Office. *Augustus* made *Cilnius Mecenas*, Governour of *Rome*, and *Italy*, during the Civil War; but afterwards he established a Government, and placed a Consular Man over the City, to curb the Populace, the Slaves, and all those great Cities, which were only kept to their Obedience in Fear. *Messala Corvinus* executed this Charge at first, but was soon laid aside for his Incapacity (3); after *Publius Taurus*, a very Old Man, was elected his Successor, who discharged it very worthily.

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

new York: So that a Prince is obliged at first to place those who are so moderate and prudent, that the People may have no occasion to complain, that they are oppressed. After *Ferdinand* and *Isabell* had Conquered the Kingdom of *Grenada*, they settled a Captain-General to govern them; but, as this Military Government did not agree with the stubborn, intractable Humour of the *Moors*, who were continually Mutinying, they were obliged to put the Government into the Hands of the Lawyers, who being inferior to the *Grandees*, and above the lesser, make Profession of Modesty, Integrity, Mildness, Sweetness, Temperance, study Peace, and the Publick Good, avoid Partiality, refuse Presents, assemble themselves at regular and set Times, to give Audience, decide Differences, and do every Man

Justice. *Don Diego de Mendoza*, Book the First of *the War of Grenada*.

(3) A Man may be fit for the Bar, as *Corvinus* was one of the greatest Orators of his time, who is not fit for Civil Government. A Man, who can speak well, cannot always act well, and manage Publick Builness. I have heard of an Ambassador, who made a Parallel between the late Count *d'Avaux* and Monsieur *Servient*, that one could write better, and the other could negotiate Builness better; that the one writ Letters, and the other Dispatches: However it be, most certainly Publick Builness will discover the Capacity of a Man, more than any other Profession. The Court of *Rome*, what do I say, all *Europe*, would they ever have understood what Metal the Cardinal *Montalt* was made of, if they had not elected him *Sixtus Quintus*? If *Arnaud*

ly (4). Next *Piso* was called to it, who governed to the Content of all Men (5), from the Beginning to the End, and was honoured with Publick Funerals, by Order of the Senate.

XII. After this, *Quintilianus*, Tribune of the People, proposed to receive a certain Book of the *Sybil*, which *Caninius Gallus*, of the College of Fifteen, had petitioned the Senate to declare Authentick, as well as the others of that Prophetess; and the Matter passing with a General Voice, the Emperour wrote to the Tribune checking him mildly, as one too young to know the ancient

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

*d'Offat* had not left the Bar, and put himself under *Paul-de Foix*, Archbishop of *Toulouse*, who carried him to *Rome*, *Henry* the Third, and *Henry* the Fourth perhaps had never understood his Merit, nor had he shewn his Dexterity in managing State Affairs, nor by Consequence have ever been Cardinal.

(4) Those, who are truly Great Men, are as well so in their Age, as in the Flower of their Lives: The Spirit of Government does not depend on the Hands, or the Feet, but on the Head; and by Consequence, the Excuse of Persons, who are possessed of great Posts, is not to be received, when they alledge, that their Age has need of Ease and Rest: For to what purpose do they retain their Places, when they cannot discharge the Duties? I cannot forbear admiring *Sextus Quintus*, who being dangerously ill, sent every Day for the Governour of *Rome*, and the other Ministers to give him an Account of what Business they had done, and give new Orders; answering his Nephew and Physicians, who advised him to give himself some Days rest, That a Prince ought to die commanding, as the Nightingale does

singing. Let, Book 3. of the Second Part of his Life. I will add by the By, that Age does not contribute to some Magistrates, in removing their Irradiation, Softness, and Vacuity.

(5) Those, who sit upon great Places, is always attended with Applause, but it is very rare that the leaving them is so. The most certain Mark of Moderation in a Minister, Governour, or Intendant of a Province, is to be regretted after a long Administration: But we must not infer from hence that of those, who are regretted, there is none that merited to be so; for the People, who are not capable of understanding the Difference of Times and Business, often make wrong Judgments. This made a great Minister compare those, who are employed in the Government of States, to Criminals condemned to Death, without other Difference, than that those endure the Punishment of their Offences, and these of their Services and Labour. \* So that with the Tribune *Livius Drusus* mentioned by *Paterculus*, Ah! my Friends, when will the State have another such Minister as myself, \* Sect. 3. of the last Chapter of the Politick Testament.

(1) How

Use (1); but he Reprimanded *Gallus*, very sharply, that he who had spent his Life in the Ceremonies (2), should presume to impose an uncertain Piece (3), without communicating it to his Collegues, and without the Examen of the Masters of Antiquity. He complained, that he had taken a Day, when there were few Members in the House. He added, That Fame had Authorized a great many spurious Pieces, under those Illustrious Names (4); that for this Reason,

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) How Upright soever are the Intentions of a Publick Magistrate, he is destitute of every thing required to compleat his Character if he be Ignorant, for Ignorance is the Mother of Error, Superstition, Scruple, Prejudice and Ignominy.

(2) The most any Minister of State, or other Officer in the Government, is able and warranted by Business, the more remarkable are his little Steps. *Stanislaus Karinkowski*, Archbishop of *Gnesse*, and Primate of *Poland*, having convoked by his particular Authority an Assembly of *Pilatus*, to repeal the Decrees of a Diet held at *Warsaw*, in the Year 1780, an Enterprize which gave a Mortal Blow to the Authority of Diets, and the Liberty of the Nobility. He was often reproached with this Error; and at a certain time when he was boasting of his good Deeds, the Vice-Chancellor of the Kingdom, *John Tarnowski*, familiarly told him, He could never repair the Damage he had done his Country by this Seditious Assembly, if he should do the worst Things in the World, and build a Hundred Colleges, as Magnificent as that he had Founded at *Kalissh*. Critical Remarks on *Pisalecki*.

(3) Not only Conscience, but Reason of State obliges Princes to suppress Books which teach Novelties in Matters of Religion, whatever Approbation they have by those

Doctors who have Examined them. We have observed that it was by the Reading and Singing the Psalms of *Mart* and *Beza*, that Calvinism first began to Diffuse it self in *France*. And I shall not scruple to say, That if the Liberty of the Press were denied all Books of Devotion, or others that Treat of Matters of Religion, whose Authors will not be known, this will be a Natural and Easy Means to stop the Course of so many Books which contain Doubtful and Dangerous Doctrines. Let no Man say, it is out of Humility that most Authors conceal their Names, for it is easy to reply; and shew, that it is Prudence and Precaution that obliges most to it; that being Anonymous, they disperse their Opinions and Maxims, which they would forbear doing if they were obliged to declare their true Name. Add to this the Suppression of Books which have a Priviledge of Impression, has Two very bad Effects, it disgraces those who have Examined and Approved them, and inspires into the People a Curiosity for, and a Pleasure in Reading those Pieces which the Magistrate would suppress and stifle.

(4) As the Romans ascribed all the Books of Prophecies and Predictions to the *Sibylls*, we do the same thing in *France* to our *Nostradamus*, under whose Name they publish a thousand things that never were in his

Cent.

son, Augustus had appointed a certain Day, by which, whoever had any such Books, should bring them to the Praetor, forbidding any to keep them after that time <sup>d</sup>: That the same Thing had been practised after burning of the Capitol in the Italick War <sup>e</sup>, when they sent every-where to seek the Books of the Sybils, whether one or more <sup>f</sup>, enjoying all Priests to use their utmost Diligence, to distinguish the <sup>g</sup> from the true. According to which Example, this Book was sent to the College of Fifteen <sup>h</sup>, to be there examined (5).

XIII. Under the same Consuls, a Sedition had like to have been, upon the Account of a Dearth of all Pro-

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

Centuries. Whatever that Man was whom the vulgar has made an Universal Prophet of, he was contemned by Philip II. For having sent his Horoscope written with his own Hand, that Prince flung it into the Fire without taking any Notice of it, only ordering the Author Five Hundred Ducats for his Pains. Chap. 147. of the Spanish Communes, Letter <sup>a</sup>.

(5) The Examen of Books is the more necessary since it is Books which Teach us Good or Ill Doctrine, whence by consequence de-

pends the Reformation or Corruption of Manners. In the Year 1560. the Duke of Alva, being about to reform Andalusia, which had been introduced in the Low Countries, by the Rebellion, began with suspending Books, commanding by a Rigorous Ban to bring them to such Doctors as he had appointed to examine them: In which he was so well obeyed, that several Thousands of dangerous Books were burnt in those Cities which owned the King of Spain. Herrera Chap. 1. Book 10. of his History.

(1) One

#### HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>a</sup> Suetonius tells us, That Augustus burnt a great Number of those Books, and only preserved such as were well avared. *Quidquid fatidicorum librorum graeci latiniq[ue] generis, nullis vel parum idoneis auctoribus vulgo referebatur, supra duo nulla contracta undique cremavit, ac solos retinuit Sibyllinos: hos quoque delectu habito.* In Augustus.

<sup>b</sup> The Social War, or that of the Confederates above mentioned.

<sup>c</sup> The Sibyllin Books, says Laetantius after Varro, were not of one Sibyll, but are called Sibyllin, because all Women Prophets were called Sibyll by the Ancients. Chap. 6. Book 1. of his Divine Institutions.

<sup>d</sup> The College of Fifteen was expressly instituted to preserve the Books of the Sibylls, to consult them in the Publick Calamities, and report to the Senate what they had predicted, and what they had ordered to be done. These Books were diligently kept, and only the Fifteen Priests permitted to read

Provisions (1); for the People had made several insolent Demands in the Theater, to the Contempt of the Emperour's Authority; who being informed of this Tumult, blamed the Senate and Magistrates for suffering it; adding, That he had brought in greater Stores than Augustus, naming the Provinces he had them from. Upon which the Senate made a Decree against the People, according to the Rigour of the Ancient Laws, which was followed by an Edict of the Consuls, which was not less severe. Tiberius thought his Silence would pass for Modesty, but the People ascribed that to his Pride.

XIV. About the End of the same Year, three Roman Knights, Geminus, Celsus, and Pompeius, were condemned to Death, for Conspiring against the Emperour: His Luxury, and expensive Living, had made the first intimate with <sup>a</sup>, who nevertheless did not employ him in his famous Affairs: The second strangled himself with his Chain, in the Prison. They contented

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) One of the most important Cares of a Prince, or rather his first Care, ought to be to procure Plenty to his People. I mean Plenty of Necessaries, as Bread. *Pane in Piazza*: For all other Things serve to make them insolent. Wherefore Sixtus Quintus, the Prince of his Time, who best understood the Art of Governing, had great Reason to say to the Ambassador of Spain, who excused the Viceroy of Naples for not revenging the Death of Vincent Storace, his Confident, whom the Populacy of Naples had torn in Pieces, upon account of the Famine; That two things were absolutely needful to contain People in their Obedience, Bread, and the Sword. Leti Book 1. of the Second Part of the Life of Sixtus Quintus. Rome saw a fair Example of this Famine

#### HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

read them, as Laetantius informs us: and to them Claudian addresses the following Words:

*Pandite Pontifices Cumane carmina vatia,  
Quae nova portendant superi.* L. 1. in Eutropium.

ed themselves, with setting Guards on *Rubrius Fabatus*, who endeavoured to make his Escape into *Parthia*, despairing ever to see the *Roman Empire* flourish. He was taken in the Straights of *Sicily*, and could give no apparent Reason of this Voyage, and was brought back to *Rome*, by a Captain, and remained unpunished, rather through Forgetfulness than Clemency.

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

mine in the Year 1590. which was so Great, that they eat Asles, Cats, Dogs, Rats, without hearing of the least Theft, the Poor chusing rather to dye of Hunger than commit any Disorder that might expose them to the inexorable Rigour of that Pope. And his Or-

ders were regarded to that Degree, that having sent a Cart-load of Bread to a Distance from *Rome*, of a Thousand and a Thousand Poor who met it, not one would dare to touch it. *Last Book of the same Life.*

THE

THE

Year of R O M E, 786.

XV. U Nder the Consulate of *Servius Galba*, and *Lucius Sylla*, the Emperour, after he had debated a long time, to whom he should bestow his Grand-Daughters, already of an Age to be married, chose *Marcus Vinicius*, and *Lucius Cassius*. The first was of a Provincial Family, originary of *Cales*; his Grand-Father, and Father, had been Consuls, and the rest were descended of a Race of Knights; a Man of a Sweet Temper, and Polite Eloquence. The other was of a Plebeian Race, but Ancient and Honourable, he had been strictly bred under the Discipline of a rigid Father; for the rest, he was more commendable for the Mildness of his Disposition, than the Excellence of his Wit (1): This Man espoused *Julia*, and the other *Drusilla*,

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) When Princes marry their Daughters, they have more regard to the Humour than to the Personal Merit of those they intend to Honour with so near an Alliance. And there is no better Recommendation to obtain this than a mild and sweet Disposition. As they ever design to be Masters, there is no greater Merit than an extreme Complaisance. They do not require a Man should be able to be their Son-in-Law. On the contrary, the more simple, and the less able to enter into the Intrigues of the Court, the more proper. Queen *Margaret* tells us, with just

Reason, that the Duke of *Anjou*, her Brother, when he said to the young Duke of *Guise*, embracing him before her, Would to God thou wast my Brother. *Book 1. of his Memoirs.* So that the Chancellor de *Chiverny*, which we may observe by the by, is much deceived in drawing the Character of *Henry III.* who, says he, inherited the Natural Humour of the *Valois*, who all hated at the end those whom they Loved at first, since he became a Mortal Enemy to *Messieurs de Guise*, whom he so dearly Loved in his Younger Days.



*Drusilla*, both Daughters of *Germanicus*. *Tiberius* writ to the Senate, and said some Things to their Advantage; from whence he passed to some General Excuse for his Absence, and after to more important Matters; and the Hatred and Ill-will he had got, by his Service to the Republick; He prayed them, to permit *Macro*, the Captain of his Guards, and some Tribunes and Centurions, to attend him, when he entred into the Senate. His Demand was instantly granted, without any Restriction or Modification, either as to the Number, or Quality of the Persons, who should attend him. But very far from coming into the Senate, he never came near the City, but by By-ways avoided his Country, like some Fugitive, who dared not appear in the open Day.

XVI. About the same time, the Informers were busy in prosecuting Usurers, and others, who had contravened a Law of *Julius Caesar*, for Regulating Interest, and Estates in Italy, which of late had been wholly neglected, every Man preferring his private Profit to the Publick Good (1). Usury has been a ve-

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) All the Disorders of a Civil Government arise from Great Men preferring their Private Interest to that of the State. Thus the Chancellor *de Chiverny* exclaimed against the Abolition of *Henry IV.* to revenge himself on *Clement VIII.* who had refused him a Cardinal's Cap for his Son. A Thing very strange to be done by so great an Officer of the Crown, since this Abolition

gave Repose to France, and secured the King and his Posterity from the Attempts of his Enemies. D'Oss Letter 37. But what is still worse, they cover their pernicious Methods with such specious Colours, that unwarlike Princes often mistake for the Interests of their State, Propositions which tend directly to the Ruin of their Affairs, as this Cardinal well remonstrates to Monsieur de

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

De pecuniis mutui decrevit, ut debitores creditoribus satisfacerentur estimationem possessionum; quanti quisque ante civile bellum compa estimatione dicto summe aris alieni, siquid usure nomine numeratum ad personam fuisset. Suetonius in his Life: Cum fides, says Caesar, non illa esset angustior, neque credita pecunia solverentur, constituit, ut arbitri darentur; per se

by ancient Grievance; and a frequent Occasion of Tumults and Disorders: and many good Laws have been made to repress it, before the Corruption of the Times. By a Law of the Twelve Tables, it was forbid to Lend at more than One per Cent, per Month<sup>b</sup>; whereas before, all Interest was at the Discretion of the Monied Men: After that, it was reduced to a Moiety by another

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

*Milroy*. All which Glitters, says Tacitus, in the Eyes of Private Men, is not Gold to the King, nor the Crown, though they seek to interest his Majesty by specious Pretences, to let and speak contrary to his true Interest, and the Grandeur and Safety of his Kingdom. Letter 297. In the Time of *Augustus*, the Princes having demanded the Reformation of several Abuses in Government,

the Reformers, who were appointed to establish Good Orders, converted the Publick to serve their Private Turn: Every one capitulated for himself, and the Good of the Publick, which ought to have taken Place of all other Considerations, was sacrificed to private Interest. *Nic. Pasquier*, in his Remonstrance to King *Lewis XIII.*

(2) There

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

ferent estimationes possessionum & rerum quanti queq; earum ante bellum fuissent, atque ea creditoribus traderentur. Hoc & ad timorem novorum tabularum tollendum, minuendumque, & ad debitorum tuendam estimationem esse aptissimum existimavit. Initio, Lib. 3. de Bello Civili. *Plutarch* tells us, That when *Caesar* was Governour of Spain, he decided the Suits depending between Creditors and their Debtors, by making an Order, to enable Creditors to take into their Hands two Thirds of the Revenue of their Debtors, till they should be reimbursed. In his Life. For among the Romans Usury was paid every Month; as *Horace* expressly tells us, *Sat. 1. Sat. 3.*

Cum tristes misero venere Calenda.

— Paterator Alphius.

— Olem relegit Idibus Pecuniam,

Querit Kalendis ponere. *Epod. 2.*

*Usuria*, says *Sigonius*, est cum pars sortis centesima singulis mensibus additur, id est, cum quotannis duodeni pro centuriis usurae nomine numerantur. De Jure Civium Romanorum, Lib. 2. Cap. 2. And *Cujas* ad Leg. i. de Usuris, says, That this Usury was reputed Rightful, and allow'd of every where, till the Reign of *Justinian*.

This Abuse prevailed in the Time of *St. Ambrose*, who uses these Words in his Twelfth Chapter in *Tobia*: Veniunt Calenda, parit sortis centesimam; veniunt menses singuli, generantur usurae, malorum parentum mala proles. Hae est



another Law, made by the Tribunes: Last of all, it was entirely forbid<sup>d</sup>, and divers Orders made to prevent it, which yet were strangely baffled by new Subtleties. The Prætor Gracchus, who had Commission to enquire into these Disorders, was surprized at the Number of Delinquents, and made his Report to the Senate (2); who finding their Danger, flung themselves on the Mercy of the Emperour, not a Man being innocent. Tiberius pardoned them, and allowed Sixteen Months to all Persons, to dispose their Effects, according to the Rigour of the Law.

XVII. This

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(2) There is no Justice to be expected from Judges, who are interested in the Continuation of Abuses and Grievances, which are desired to be redressed. In this depraved

Age, we stand in need of Officers, who have the Courage and Probity of *Francesco Bassano* (after by Pope Pius the Ninth, made Governor of the Castle of St. Angelo), who hearing

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

*est generatio Viperarum. Crevit centesima: petitur, nec solvitur, applicatur in sortem. Legue, non jam centesima incipit esse, sed summa, id est, non solum centesima, sed sævus centesima.*

The Text is, *ad semuncias redacta*: That is to Six per Cent, because the *Semis* was a Moiety of the Roman *As*, which was Twelve Ounces: But this Usury being too hard, it was necessary to abolish it.

Our Author says, *Postremo vetita versura*: But there is a great Difference between *Versura* and *Usura*. The first was forbidden by the *Lex Gabinia*, but not the latter. See what *Cujas* says upon the first Law, *de Usuris*. *Quoniam quidam tentant, iniquum esse impositum lege Gabinia, cujus mentionem facit Tullius Lib. 5. ad Atticum in fine, ea fuit de versura, non usura, quæ prohibuit jus dici de pecunia sumpta per versuram. Nescio, an quis bene intelligat, quid sit pecunia sumpta per versuram, quid sit versura. Est sane in Versura quiddam reprehensione dignum. Tandem animadverti versuram esse mutationem pecunie sub usuris, quæ dissoluebantur usura alia debite, quod lex Gabinia non patitur, ut usura commutentur usuras, velut regula juris est, usuras usurarum non deberi, sortis tantum deberi, aut in stipulationem deduci. Hujus regulae duæ sunt fraudes, una appellatur *avarorum*, quod altera, *versura*; *avarorum* fraudes coercetur legibus, vel constitutionibus avarorumque est, si usurae quæ debentur, per stipulationem redigantur in sortem, vel fiant sortis usque augentur sortis, vel usurarum præstatio, id est usura redigantur in sortem, quod re ipsa est usurarum usuras esse, contra præ prohibetur lege illi. Cod. de Usuris. Alia fraudes est *versura*, ut si sumas aliquo Pecuniam sub Usuris, quæ ei solvas usuras debitas, *Giorgio Dati* in his Translation has taken the Sense of *Cujas*, in Translating this Passage of*

XVII. This made Money extremely scarce (1), every Creditor suing his Debtors, to recover the Sum which he had lent, all the Coyned Silver, being hereby drawn into the Publick Treasury, or the Imperial Fisque, by the Sale of so many forfeited Estates. To remedy this Disorder, the Senate enacted, That all Creditors should be obliged to accept Two Thirds of their Debts in Lands, in Italy. Few would agree to these Terms, and to refuse to pay a just Debt, was dishonourable. They had recourse first to Prayers, and after they were obliged to appear before the Prætor: And the Remedies intended to Cure these Mischiefs, had

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

That a great part of the Magistrates of *Milan* murmured at his deciding some Innocent Persons condemned for carrying Corn out of the Dominions of that State, told them, He thought it very, strange and cruel too, that a poor Peasant should be hanged for taking away a Sack of Wheat, and that Persons who sent away Thirty or Forty Wagon Load at a Time, should set in that Council to condemn these poor harmless Men: And the Judges demanding an Explanation, he accused the great Chancellor of *Milan* of a Convoy, of Thirty of whose Waggon, he said, he had met in the Road, going to *Gema*. *Pagliari*, *Off.* 580.

(1) Usury is a great Mischief, but Want of Money is a much Greater. The People of *Rome* cried out against Usury; but when they see Money fail and Commerce sink, they exclaimed still more against the Reformation: So true it is, that it is very difficult to reform Abuses which the length of Time has Converted into Custom. In this Case, says Monsieur the Cardinal de *Richelieu*, we must yield to Weakness, and rather content our selves with a moderate Rule, than settle one more austere, whose Rigour is capable to shake what we design to establish. *Self.* 1. Chap. 4. of his Politick Testament. One of the Ancients says, For the Tranquility of Mankind we ought to

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

Of Tacitus thus: Per provisionem de Tribuni fæ prohibita l'usura supra ad usura. Or Usury, Interest upon Interest was prohibited by a Decree of the Tribunes. *Livy*, in his 7th Book tells us, *L. Genucius*, Tribune of the People proposed a Law, to be made to forbid Usury, *tulisse ad Populum, ne sumari liceret*: But he does not tell you it was effected.

Magna difficultate nam, maria populo auxilium flagitante, per senatus consultum sancit, ut feneratorum duas patrimonii partes in solo collocarent, quibus totidem aris alieni statim solverent. Suetonius in the Life of Tiberius.

M

: Whom

had a quite contrary Effect : For the Usurers keeping up all their Money to purchase Land, there was no more to be borrowed upon any other Terms : Beside Land being at a low Price, considering the great Number of Sellers, when a Man was indebted, it was a long time before he could discharge it. Thus divers Families were ruined, and at once lost their Estates (2), Honours, and Places ; at last the Emperour gave Order for the Loan of a Hundred thousand Great Sesterces, for three Years, without Interest, to those who had need of them, provided they would give double Security in Land. By this means Commerce was re-established, and by degrees Money was found to Lend to private Men, who soon dispensed with the Observation of this New Law ; as commonly Things at first are violent, and after some time, wholly neglected (3).

XVIII. After

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

to banish Five Sorts of Persons, Usurers from the Exchange, Mercenary Judges from the Bench, Coverous Priests from the Altar, Flatterers from Court, and Common Strumpets from the Bordel. *Feneratorēs ē Foro, Judices iniquos ē Consistorio, Sacerdotes avaros ē Templo, Adulatorēs ab Aula, Meretrices ē Prostitulo.* But to execute this Advice to the Letter, we must exterminate the whole Race of Mankind.

(2) An Estate is a great Ornament to Magistrates, not only for the external Lustre it gives them, but because the World has Naturally a better Opinion of the Integrity of a Man that is Rich, than of one who being Poor, has need to think of Ways to multiply the Emoluments of his Charge. And upon this Principle Monsieur de Richelieu makes no difficulty to decide, that of Two Persons of equal Merit, he who is most easie in his Circumstances is preferra-

ble to the other. For the rest, the People are so unjust in their Censures, that if a Magistrate be Poor, they say, he is put in to suck their Blood. If a Prince prefer a rich to a poor Man, as often the Exigences of State require, then they cry, The Purse is preferred to Merit, and the Golden Ais to the Eagle. *Lion.*

(3) At the First, Edicts and Regulations are observed very rigorously, because the People are pleased with Novelty, without looking farther. But as the Reforming Abuses is always attended with Troubles and Inconveniencies, which the Prudence of the Reformers cannot foresee, and that the present Evil always appears greater than that to which the Remedy is applied, the World insensibly returns to the First Abuse, which after becomes incurable. Besides, there are Edicts made to amuse the People, which cannot by Consequence be of any long Continuance. *Nic.*

XVIII. After a short Respite, new Examples of Severity began to revive the old Dread and Terror. *Confidius Proculus*, without the least Suspicion of Danger, making a publick Entertainment on the Day of his Birth, was seized and forced from the midst of his Friends, before the Senate, condemned and hurried away to his Execution, and *Sancia*, his Sister, banished. *Quintus Pomponius* was the Informer, a Man of a turbulent Spirit, who impudently published, *He followed the Trade, to please the Emperour's Favour, and save the Life of his Brother*, *Pomponius Secundus*, which was in danger. *Pomponia Macrina* was likewise banished, after she had seen her Husband ; and his Father *Argolicus*, and *Lacon*, two of the greatest Men of Greece, fall Victims to the Resentments of *Tiberius* : Her Father, an illustrious Roman Knight, and her Brother, a Pretorian, were forced to prevent that Condemnation, by killing themselves : The only Crime which could be objected, was, *Their Descent from Theophanes, of Mitylene, a great Confis-*

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

*Mr. Pasquier* gives us a fair Example in one of his Letters addressed to Monsieur *Mangot* ; the King, says he, by an *Arrest* bearing Date the present Month of *March*, 1617. does appoint that the Revocation of the *Droit Annuel*, and the Prohibition of the selling Offices, do take Place, and begin to be in Force the First Day of the Year 1618. and in the mean Time his Pleasure that all Officers of Justice and the Finances, who will pay the *Droit Annuel*, to enjoy their Places, shall be received, making their Payment for the present Year, within Six Weeks after the Publication. And forasmuch as by the Constitutions heretofore made, no Officer can enjoy the whole Profits of his Place, till they had continued the Payment for the space of Two Years, it is by these Presents order-

ed and appointed, that those who shall not pay in this Year, within the time prescribed, shall not be received in any of the following Years. So, the First Day of *January*, in the Year 1618, the Venality of Offices and Places shall be in the same State they are at present. The King had resolved upon the Remonstrances of the Deputies of the States, to remove the two Cankers, which insensibly devour the Kingdom ; and yet within Two Months after their breaking up, we see this Resolution laid aside. The Edict of *Blois* in 1576, for the Venality of Offices remains still unexecuted, and we wist this, which is just sprung up, may bear Fruit ; it would be a thing contrary to the disorderly State of *France*, where-ever we see good Laws without taking Effect.

M 2

(1) The

*Confident of Pompey, whom the Greek Flattery had adorned with Divine Honours, after his Death.*

XIX. Next *Sextus Marius*, the richest Man in *Spain*, was accused of Incest with his own Daughter, and Precipitated from the Capitol. The Emperor seized his Mines of Gold, and converted to his private Use, that, which by the Sentence of Confiscation, was appointed to be brought into the Publick Treasury. Which Proceeding put it past doubt, that his immense Wealth was the Cause of his Misfortune (1). Now *Tiberius*, incens'd and confirmed in his Cruelty by the multitude of Executions, commands a general Massacre of all the Accomplices of the late Conspiracy, which were to be found in the Prisons of the City (2). It is amazing to relate, what a horrible Carnage was made of Persons of all Ages, Sexes, and Conditions. In some places the lifeless Trunks were scattered up and down; in others, piled on vast Heaps. The Friends and Relations of the unfortunate Persons were not suffered to lament: It was criminal to discover

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) The richer any Person is, the more suspected he is to his Prince. If he would be secure from the Storm, he must either be at great Expences to consume his Estate; or live with so much Precaution, as not to let the World discover his Wealth. In this Sense, we must understand that old Spanish Courtyer *Hernando de Guevara*, who said, If he had Two Thousand Pistols in his Pocket, (which in those Times was a great Sum) he would sit in the Street to ask Alms of all passers by.

(2) When a Fire has taken hold of a House, all that comes forth smells smoaky and burnt. It is the same Case, says the Spanish *Commines*, with the Anger of Princes, when that has seized any Favourite,

all his Relations, Friends and Creatures smell of it. How many Men fell with the Count de *Barajas*, when he lost the Favour of *Philip* the Second; and the President of *Castile*, which is the first Post in *Spain*? How much did the Disgrace of the Dukes of *Lerma* and *Alva* Ministers of *Philip* the Third affect the Lords and Courtiers, and those who had a Propriety in his Places? A very evident Instance, that there is no Dependence on the Favour of Princes; Chap. 100. *Levi* *Antonio Perez* tells us, That the Spanish Language calls Favourites *Prin-vados*, perhaps, because in this Fortune, they are deprived of all natural Safety.

(1) False

the least Regret, or Concern, at this dismal Spectacle; Soldiers were appointed to guard the Bodies, and observe the Mien and Countenance of all the Spectators and Comers. The Carcases were kept above Ground, and then dragged down to the Banks, and flung into the *Tiber*, where some miserably floated to and others were cast on the Shoar, no Man daring to give them the Honours of Burial: So far had Fear suspended the Duties of Nature, and the Severity of the Government stifled all Sense of Compassion.

XX. About the same time, *Caligula*, the constant Companion of his Grand-Father, in his Retreat, was married to *Claudias*, the Daughter of *Marcus Silanus*: A Prince, who under a fair, but false Moderation (1), and plausible outside, concealed a Mind inwardly full of monstrous and unexampled Cruelty. The Sentence pronounced against his Mother, nor the Exile of his Brothers, could extort one Tear, or the least Expression of Dislike; he wholly resign'd up all Things to the Pleasure of his Prince; and his obsequious Compliance extended to the imitating his very Change of Dress, Humours, and Manner of Speaking (2). These base

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) False Moderation is a Commodity, in which Courtiers deal very much, and with which Men of Honour and Probity often suffer themselves to be imposed on. If you go by the Ear, it is *Jacob's* Voice; if you touch the Hands, they are the Hands of *Esau*!

(2) Flattery is a Court Echo. *Re-mem de Altissimis Montibus Echo*,

says the Holy Writings, comparing Princes to Mountains. If a Prince laughs, his Flatterers laugh, and very often, when there is more need of weeping. If he speak a rough Word, it is carried from Mouth to Mouth, always follow'd with a Commentary, at the Expence of the Unfortunate.

(3) It

#### HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

1 Whom *Suetonius* calls *Junia Claudilla*.

base Submissions, made the Character of *Passienus*, the Orator, afterwards, become famous; who said of this Prince, *He was the best Slave, and would prove the worst Master the World ever had* <sup>(3)</sup>. I must not omit to mention here, the Prefage of *Tiberius*, to *Sergius Galba*, then Consul, and after Emperour, whom he sent for, and entertaining him with various Discourse, to sound his Designs, a little before he dismissed him, cried in Greek, *And you, Galba, shall one Day have a Taste of Empire* <sup>h</sup>. Which succinct Expression contained a double Prediction, *That his Reign was very remote, and should be of small continuance*. His Skill in Astrology he derived from the Instructions of *Thrasyllus*, in the time of his long Retreat at *Rhodes*, whose Abilities in that Science, he discovered by the Experiment I am about to relate.

XXI. *Tiberius* had a Custom, when he consulted any Astrologer, to go into the upper part of his Palace, which hung over the Seas, attended only with one Servant, in whom he confided, a Man of a robust Body, and ignorant of Letters: This Fellow brought the Artist, whose Skill he intended to try, and led him through several private intricate Ways, and over several Precipices, for the House was founded on a Rock: In his Return, if the Astrologer was suspected, or ignorant, he tumbled him into the Sea, to prevent his divulging the Secret. *Thrasyllus* was conducted over these

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(3) It is ordinarily happens, that those who have made their Fortunes by slavish Submissions, exercise a Tyrannick Empire, when once they become Masters.

(1) There

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

Καὶ οὐ μὲν πῆς ἡγεμονίας γεύσων.

Sue-

these Rocks, and after he had answered the Questions of *Tiberius*, and surprized him with the Promise of the Empire, and the Greatness of his future Fortunes, the Prince demanded, *If he had made his own Horoscope? Or knew whether the present Year, or Day, were lucky, or unfortunate to him?* The other contemplating the Position and Aspect of the Stars, began to pause a little, and grew pale, and the more he Contemplated, the more he was struck with Surprize and Fear, and cried out, *He found himself threatned with a very great Danger, if he escaped with Life* <sup>i</sup>. Upon which, *Tiberius* embracing him, re-assured him; declaring, *He had foreseen the Dangers which threatned him, that he was safe, and ought to fear nothing*: And taking his Reply for an Oracle, received him into the Number of his best Friends.

XXII. For my part, the more I reflect on this, and such-like Passages, the more I doubt, whether the Affairs of the World are governed by Fate, and Immutable Necessity of Events, or tost up and down by capricious Motions of Chance and Fortune: For we shall find the greatest Philosophers of Antiquity, and their sects, divided in this Matter: Some maintain, That the Gods take no Notice of what is done here below <sup>k</sup>, and for this Reason good Men are often ill treated, and wicked Men triumph in Wealth and Honours. Others think, There is

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>l</sup> *Suetonius* tells us, That *Tiberius* was resolved that day to tumble him into the Sea, weary with keeping a Man, whose Predictions were always contradicted by the Event.

<sup>m</sup> It is the Opinion of the *Epicureans*, of which Sect *Strado* would persuade *Tacitus* was; but *Rafael della Torre* pretends the contrary, which he justifies by these Passages of our Author: *Neque a Diis nisi iustas supplicium preest audiri*, Annal. 1. *Id. Diis placitum, ut rerum arbitrium penes Romanos maneret*, Annal. 13. *Propitius, si per mores nostros liceret, Diis*, Hist. 3. Chap. 2. In his *Astrulabe of State*.

M 4

This

a certain Fatality (1), which is inevitable; but ascribe this, not to the Planets; but to Natural Principles; imagining, there is an Eternal Chain of Causes and Effects<sup>1</sup>. They admit, Man has the Liberty of Election, of what kind of Life he will follow; but after this Choice, they assert, he cannot avoid that Train of Accidents which attend that State and Condition<sup>m</sup>. They alledge further, That our Notions of Good and Ill are not to be taken from the Opinion of the Vulgar: That divers are happy whom the World thinks miserable, because they struggle with Adversity<sup>n</sup>. That others

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) There is no other Fate, but the Will of Heaven. Fortune, which was so famous amongst Men, says *Gratian*, is nothing but Sovereign Providence, which concurs with second Causes, either moving, or permitting them to Act. *Chap. 10. of his Hero*. Thus, although every thing depends on God, yet Men must employ their Industry, which God has given them, in the Management of their Temporal Affairs. We must

trust in God (said *Francis de Gorgia*, Duke of *Gandia*) as if there were no Human Means, and make use of Human Means, as if there were no God. *Dijar, como si no oviese medios; medios, como si no oviese Dios; diseña Gran Jefe de Duques de Gandia*. At the End of the 47th Chapter of the *Spanish Communes*: And *Baltasar Gracian* says: That Maxim came from a great Master. *Maxim 205. of his Manual*.

(2) We

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

! This is the Opinion of the Stoicks,

*Non illa Deo vertisse licet,  
Qua nexa suis currunt causis.*

<sup>m</sup> This middle Opinion is more tolerable than the two preceding, since it leaves Men the Liberty of chusing a certain Course of Life: But is not less erroneous, since it makes Providence truckle to our Choice, on which it makes all the Accidents of Life to depend.

<sup>n</sup> This last Opinion, agrees very well with the Christian Religion. *Ne putemur mala, & summa, dantur & bonis; ne putemur magna & summa, dantur & malis: itemque asseruntur ista & bonis, ut probentur, & malis, ut crucientur.* Can you believe, says *St. Cyprion*, to the Pagans, that you and we have an equal Portion of Adversity, who plainly see, that we support it with so much difference? With you there is nothing but Impatience, Murmuring, Repining; whereas we with a firm and steady Courage sustain the rude Shocks, Storms, and Tempests of this World, with patiently waiting for the Accomplishment, of the Divine Promises. *Ad Demetrianum*.

\* At

others pass in the common Opinion for happy, who are incessantly tortured with their insatiable Lusts: That to judge right, we must consider every Man, as he uses his Good or Ill Fortune: That this does not disable Men from predicting the Accidents of Life from their Infancy<sup>o</sup>. Tho' it very often happens, that Things fall out quite different through the Fraud or Ignorance of the Artificer (2). It is this which has brought into Disgrace, an Art, whose Certainty and Excellence we have many Proofs in former Ages, as well as our own Times; not to mention the Son of the same *Thrasyllus*, who predicted to *Nero*, that he should be Emperour; as we shall relate in its proper

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(2) We must not judge the Value and Excellence of an Art or Science by its Professors; by this means most Arts and Sciences would be in danger of being contemned and rejected: For Example, what Esteem must we have of Medicine, a Science so necessary for the Well-being of Mankind, if we measured our Esteem by the Prescription of a Multitude of Doctors of the Faculty, who get their Livelihood by killing the Sick? Ought we to have the less Veneration for Divinity, because abundance of Clergymen adapt their Doctrine

to the corrupt Manners of the Age, which instead of complying with, they ought to correct? Is the Invention of Printing less to be admired, because the Men of the Trade print ill Books, or which is worse, infamous, which ought to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman, [such as is that Dictionary, which that Madman *Richelieu* promises suddenly to put in the Press, \* and which he tells you he had already done, if he could have sold his Copy. *Page 68. of his Collection of Letters*.]

(1) It

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

\* At the Birth of *Marcellus Cervinus*, his Father, who was a great Astrologer, having consulted the Stars, told his Family, He found his Son, that was born that day, should be Pope, but not so in effect: A Contradiction, which the Event verified, his Pontificat not lasting above Two and Twenty Days. *Epitomy of the Life of Charles the Fifth*. *Philip de Commynes* has left us an Authentick Testimony of the Predictions of *Angelo Cairo*, Archbishop of *Vienno*, who was Physician and Astrologer to *Lewis the Eleventh*. *Moniteur*, the Duke of *Sully*, in the Third Tome of his Memoirs, relates a Prediction of the Suppression of the Reformed Religion in *France*, made at the Birth of *Lewis the Thirteenth*, by the first Physician of *Henry the Fourth*, which was about Fourscore and Four Years before it was effected.

\* It

proper place, to avoid longer digression from our present Subject.

XXIII. In the same Consulate, various Rumors were dispersed, upon the Death of *Asinius Gallus*: That he was starved, is beyond doubt; but whether by Choice, or Compulsion, is uncertain. The Emperor permitted him the Honours of Burial, blaming his Ill Fortune, that had taken off the Traitor before he could be convicted in the ordinary Forms of Law. A surprising Complaint; as if the space of a Year and half, were not a competent Time to proceed against a Man of his extream Age, who had several Sons Consular Men with himself. Soon after *Drusus* perished miserably, after he had prolonged a wretched Life, the space of Nine Days, by eating the Stuffing of his Beds: A sad and deplorable Diet. Some Authors assure us, *Macro* had Orders, in case *Sejanus* attempted a Revolt (1), to produce this young Prince, who was detained close Prisoner in the Palace, and present him to the People; which gave occasion to a Rumor, that the Emperor would be reconciled to *Agrippina*, and her Son. This popular Report hasten'd his untimely End,

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) It is the Humour of most Princes, when they have done manifest Wrong, to persist in their unjust dealing against the Convictions of their Conscience, lest the World should perceive they are conscious of themselves of their foul Injustice.

(1) It

#### HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

\* It is not probable the *Tumentum* in the Text was Flax, this would have choak'd him: It is more likely, that his Bedding was stufft with those Herbs, mentioned by *Pliny*. *Gnaphalium, alii Chamædælon vocant, cujus foliis albis mollibusque pro Tomento utuntur*. Lib. 27. Cap. 10. For it appears by the Circumstances of the Death of *Drusus*, that this unfortunate Prince preserved his Speech and Appetite to the last, which is a plain Proof that he digested. And it is incredible he could eat Hair and Wool two Days together without bursting.

1 This

End, in regard of the Humour of *Tiberius*, whose darling Passion, was, to appear Inflexible, and void of all Remorse.

XXIV. His Death did not appease the Rage of the Emperor, he persisted to load his Memory with Disgrace, reproaching him, with the Deformity of his Body, his perverse Temper, his unnatural Hatred to his own Blood, his implacable Enmity to the Government, and commanded the private Memoirs of his Life to be publicly read. That Men should have set Salaries to Attend, to Observe, and Register, for the space of so many Years, the Words, Behaviour, Expressions of Discontent; that a Grand-Father should have the Assurance to publish them, is such a new and surprising Instance of Tyranny, that Posterity would scarcely be induced to believe, if the Letters of *Actius*, the Centurion, and *Didymus*, read before the Senate, were not so many Authentick Acts to attest the Truth, which Letters expressly mention the Names of those Slaves, who insulted or menaced him. The Centurion himself, with a great deal of Vanity, relates his own insolent Carriage, and the Words of the dying Prince, who, at first, under colour of Distraction and Raving, rail'd at *Tiberius*, uttering a thousand opprobrious Speeches; but after, deprived of all Hopes of Life, and lifting off the Mask, in a compos'd and premeditate Manner, poured out most dreadful Imprecations, beseeching Heaven, to pursue with Vengeance, a Monster of Cruelty, who had fill'd the Imperial Family with Blood; murdered his Son's Wife, his Brother's Son, and extinguish'd his Race; that the Divine Justice would make him a Sacrifice, to appease the Manes

#### HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

\* This relates to the Jealousie, which our Author tells us, he had of his Elder Brother *Nero*, and his siding with *Sejanus*, to cut him off, and prevent his Succession to the Empire. *Spe objecta principis loci, si priorem aetate demovisset*. Ann. 4.

1 Nervus

*Manner of his Ancestors, and a standing Example to Posterity.* Here the Senate interrupted the Reading, pretending to abhor these blasphemous Expressions; but really fill'd with Horrour and Astonishment, to see a Prince, who had hitherto employ'd the greatest Art and Address, to conceal his Injustice, now to draw the Curtain, and expose his own Blood to the View of the World, in the Hands of his Murthérs, vainly imploring a poor Sustenance from those merciless, unrelenting Villains.

XXV. The Sorrows for the hard Fate of this unfortunate Prince, were still fresh, when News came of the Death of *Agrippina*. This Princess had, for some time, after the Death of *Sejanus*, preserv'd herself with Hopes; but finding the former Severity not abate, she voluntarily resign'd up her Life, or, perhaps, had her necessary Sustenance retrenched, to make her Death appear the more natural. The Emperour was very violent against her, taxing her with infamous Lewdness, and reproaching her, That she died of Regret, for the Loss of her Paramour, *Alinius Gallus* (1). A very improbable Calumny, in a Woman of her Vigour and Masculine Spirit, whose restless Ambition, and impatient Desire of Government, had left no room for the Weakness and Passions of her Sex (2). The Emperour added it, as

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) It is a Revenge as Base as Cruel in any Man, to blemish the Honour, and Memory of Persons, whom in their Life time he dare not encounter. It had been a just Repartee, if any Man had briskly replied, *His Mouth was not so chaste as her Ass.*

(2) Women of Ambition and Courage like *Agrippina*, are seldom guilty of Lewdness: The Passion for Glory makes them shun whatever would make them appear Mean and

Contemtable. The Spanish Commentator on *Commines* tells us very judiciously, The wife Author of Nature is pleased, that the Fair Sex should have a natural Modesty, and Men a natural Respect to them; that by this means, they may value themselves more, and being flattered by the Adoration paid them by Men, and worshipp'd like so many Divinities, they should take care to avoid the Boldness and Daring of Men;

a thing worthy remark, that she died the same Day *Sejanus* had been executed two Years before (3); and boasted of it, as an Act of Grace, that he had not caused her to be strangled, and her Body expos'd. The Senate ordered an Address of Thanks to the Emperour, for his great Clemency (4), and that an Offering should be made annually, for ever, to *Jupiter*, on the Fifteenth of the Calends of *November* (Seventeenth of *October*) a Day on which the State had received so eminent Deliverance, from two such dangerous Enemies (5).

XXVI. Some time after, *Cocceius Nerva*, an assiduous Companion of his Prince, who had never forsaken him, since his Retreat in the Isle of *Caprea*, a Man learned in the Religion and Laws of his Country, without any apparent Cause, in a flourishing Fortune, in

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

Men: And from hence it proceeds, adds he, That Sex is ever most prudent and modest in those Countries, where they are most honoured.

(3) To be born, or die on the same Day with Persons, whose Memory is infamous, can never make a Man partake of their Disgrace. If we should admit this, not one Day in the Year, would escape our Censure. If *Agrippina* had been Accessory in the Conspiracy of *Sejanus*, this Remark of *Tiberius* would have had some kind of Foundation: But on the contrary, *Sejanus* during the whole time of his Favour, having been a Capital Enemy to her Person and the Children of *Agrippina*, there can be no parallel between the Death of that Favourite, and that of this Princess.

(4) We thank Tyrants for the Ill they omit, as well as for the Good they do.

(5) A remarkable Instance of the shameful Corruptions, and base Sub-

mission of People in Authority, who talk about with every Court Wind. Here we find the Senate presenting their Thanks to *Tiberius*, that he had not dishonoured the Body of *Agrippina*, and at the same time making an Act, to load her Memory with Infamy, treating her like *Sejanus*, who was attainted of High-Treason. *Herrera* relating the Revision of the Process against Cardinal *Carrassa*, whom *Pius* the Fourth had taken off for Crimes against the State, tells us, The Cardinal was declared innocent, and his Family restored to their Honours under the Pontificate of *Pius* the Fifth; adding, That it was remarkable, that several, who had condemned him, were assisting in this Absolution; the Injustice of the World being such, that all Magistrates comply with the Times, and turn the Balance according to the Pleasure of the Prince. Chap. 16. Book 18. of his History.



in full Health of Body, resolv'd on a voluntary Death. *Tiberius* being inform'd of this, made him frequent Visits, pressing and importuning him to discover the Reasons of this strange Conduct, urging, That it would be a grievous Affliction to his Mind, and a Blemish to his Glory (1), to have his dearest Friend, the Author of his own Death. But *Nerva*, averse to Conversation, and deaf to all Remonstrances, persist'd to finish his Life by a perfect Abstinence. Those who pretend to penetrate the Secret of his Thoughts, tell us, that foreseeing the inevitable Ruine of the Common-wealth (2), partly in Indignation, partly in Fear of sharing the common Calamity, he resolv'd to make an Honourable End, while

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) Nothing can represent a Government worse, than to see a Minister, whose Conduct is blameless, quit the Management of Publick Affairs. We may be sure the Ship is in danger of a Wreck, when the Pilot leaves the Helm. *Seneca* desiring leave to retire from Court, *Nero* replied, This Retreat would not be ascribed to his love of Repose, but his fear of the Emperor's Severity; that a wise Man would not seek to gain Reputation by Methods dishonourable to his Friend. *Annal.* 14. The Death of *Cocceius* brings into my Mind this Line of *S. Piston* in praise of *Cujas*:

*Ius fuit Authorem jure cadente mori.*

*Cujas* chose to die, rather than survive the Law.

(2) When a Prince begins to degenerate, his Favourites ought to think of a timely Retreat, to prevent being surprized by the Storm: It is certain, when a Prince takes the Liberty to transgress the Bounds of Reason of Truth and Justice, he will soon be weary of those old Friends, who will not blindly comply with his Pleasure. Forseeing, says the Chancellor *de Chiverny*, in the Portrait he makes of *Henry* the Third, this poor Prince, who was wholly taken up with a Pleasure, which his Minions had engaged him in, could not possibly avoid falling into some Misfortune; and, that I was expos'd to blame, who held one of the chiefest, and most considerable Posts of the Kingdom: I several times intreated him, to give me my discharge, and put the Seals into some other Hand more disposed to serve

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

\* *Nerva* had reason to fear he should not meet with better Fortune than the rest of his Companions. *Viginti*, says *Suetonius*, *Sibi e numero principum Civitatis depoposcera, velut consiliarios in negotiis publicis.* Horum

while his Credit was entire, and his Reputation without Blemish (3).

XXVII. The Death of *Agrippina*, by a strange connexion, drew with it that of *Plancina*: She had been formerly Wife to *Cn. Piso*, and publickly triumphed at the Death of *Germanicus*: She had been saved, when her Husband was taken off, partly by her Interest in the old Empress, and partly by her profest Hatred to *Agrip-*

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

have the turn of those, who would abuse them. In his *Memoirs*. Some time after the King did take them from him, and discharg'd him the Court, at the same time with *Messieurs de Villeroy, Brulart, and Pi-hart*, all three Secretaries of State, and *Pomponne de Bellievre*, who was ter Chancellor under *Henry* the Fourth, all Men who had served him in his different Fortune and Humours. *Ibidem*.

(3) The greatest Happiness which can befall a Great Man, is to die in good time, that is, before his Fortune declines; which *Tacitus* very properly calls *opportunitas mortis*. *Alexander*, Duke of *Parma*, would have died the most glorious Captain of his Age, if after the wonderful Siege of *Antwerp*, he had bid adieu to War, as one of his Friends advis'd him, with a great deal of Reason, since, after that Victory, he did nothing considerable in the Low-Countries; on the contrary, he lost *Zutphen, Devienier, Hulst, Nimeguen, Breda*, and divers other Places. *Piaschi's Chronicle*. If the brave Count *Tilly* had died after the Battle of *Lauster*, which he won of the *Danes*

in 1626, then those of *Leipsick* and *Leck*, which he lost to the *Swedes* in 1631, and 1632, had not given occasion to say, the two last Years of his Life disgraced all the rest. *Cabrera* speaking of *Don Gaspar de Quiroga*, Cardinal, Archbishop of *Toledo*, Inquisitor General of *Spain*, and President of *Castile*, tells us, That he discharged all his Offices with a great deal of Applause, but died with the less Reputation for having lived too long. In his *History. Lib. 2. Cap. 2.* *Commines* had a great deal of Reason to say, No Man is so wise or able, but at some time or other, he will discover his Weakness, if he live a long time. Upon this Account it is, that the Cardinal *Sforza Pallavicini* says of *Marcellus* the Second. That which most Men esteem'd his hard Fate, was indeed the greatest good Fortune that could have befallen him, inasmuch as it would have been difficult for him to have come up in his Actions to the high Opinion the World had conceived of him, if his Pontificate had been of longer Continuance. In his *History of the Council of Trent. Lib. 13. Cap. 11.*

(1) At

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

*omnium vis duos aut tres incolames praestitit; ceteros, alium alia de causa, perculit.* In *Tiberio*.

\* *Horace*



*Agrippina* (1). But now her Friends and Enemies being both equally removed, the Law took place, and her Crimes being too notorious; and evidently proved, to cut off all Hopes of Escape, she acted that Justice on herself, which had been too long suspended.

XXVIII. In this melancholy Scene of Affairs, amidst such a constant Succession of Murders, the General Sadness was increased by the Marriage of *Julia*, the Daughter of *Drusus*, and Widow of *Nero*, to *Rubellius Blandus*, whose Grand-Father, within the Memory of most Men, had been a simple Roman Knight of *Tivoli* (2). About the End of this Year died *Ælius Lamia*, in a glorious Old Age, and was honoured with the Funeral of a Censor: He was Illustrious by his Birth<sup>s</sup>, and had been

POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) At Court a great many Persons are protected and countenanced, whose Persons are odious, only out of Design to mortify or bruise such, whom Princes would rid their Hands of. The Queen-Mother continued the Seals in the Hands of the Chancellor *Seguier*, who had often affronted her in the Life-time of Cardinal *Richelieu*, to make Head against the Cabal of the *Duchess de Chevreuse* and *Monsieur de Gastauneuf*, who would have removed the Cardinal *Mazarin* from his Ministry. *Memoirs of de la Chastre, Commines* gives us a remarkable Example of this Policy. The Duke and *Duchess of Bourbon*, who had governed the

King (*Charles VIII.*) called to the Court the Duke of *Lorraine* to assist and support them, a daring Man and an exquisite Courtier, well knowing they could rid themselves of him when their Work should be done, which in effect they did, when they found themselves strong enough, and the Credit of the Duke of *Orleans*, their Rival and Enemy, abated. Chap. 1. Book 7.

(2) The Marriage of a Prince of the Blood-Royal to a Private Gentleman, is looked upon in the Eyes of the People, as the Effect of Displeasure in that Prince who makes the Match.

HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

\* *Horace* derives him from King *Lamius*.

*Autore ab illo ducis originem:  
Qui Formiarum mania dicitur  
Princeps, & immanem Marice  
Littoribus tenuisse Lirin.  
Late tyrannus.*

Ode 17. Lib. 3.  
Page

been first Governour of *Syria*, and after of *Rome*; the former of which Titles he resign'd upon the Emperour's refusing him leave to go to his Province (2); which Action added much to his Honour. After this Advice being brought of the Death of *Pomponius Flaccus*, Pro-Prætor of *Syria*, *Tiberius* sent his Letters to the Senate, complaining, That those Men who were fit to Command his Armies, refused the Employ; that he was forced to use Prayers and Intreaties, to obtain Consular Men to accept the Government of the Provinces; not mentioning *Arruntius*, whom he had detained the space of ten Years, and hindered from going into *Spain* in all that time. *M. Lepidus* died the same Year. We have extolled his Wisdom and Moderation in the preceding Books, and may be excused from repeating them here: For his Noble Extraction, it will be enough to say, he was descended of the *Emilii* (3), a Family famous for Patriots, of which the most corrupted have lived in great Splendour and Reputation (4).

POLITICAL REMARKS.

(2) Great Men who are suspected by a Prince, ought never to be sent Governors to remote Provinces, or employed in Foreign Affairs.

(3) There are Families to whom Valour is Hereditary, and passes as a Privilege of God and Nature, from Father to Son, without Interruption. But there are few of these, and this happens only to such who never march below themselves, such as the House of *Aubusson*, who, though very Ancient and ever Valiant, subsists still in divers Branches, and was never possess'd of more Places and Posts of Honour, than at this present Time.

(4) There are a great many Faults and Vices too, which yet do not hinder the Persons who have them, from great Offices, and acquitting themselves with Honour. If a Ge-

neral of an Army be Proud and Covetous (a Vice which *Paterculus* and *Tacitus* say is Natural to Great Men) yet he is fit for that Post, if he be Prudent, Valiant, Undaunted, Inflexible in the Execution of Military Laws, and impartial in judging the Merit of his Officers and Soldiers. Let a Minister of State be Ambitious, Jealous, Vindictive, in some Cases too Rigorous, all which are objected to the Cardinal de *Richelieu*, yet he shall merit his Post preferably to all others, if he has all the good Qualities of that Minister, his Intelligence, Constancy, Vigilance, Activity, Skill in discerning Men, Providence; in short, the same Readiness to recompence all Services done to the State, as to punish without Mercy all Treasons, Conspiracies, Revolts and all other

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Traiterous Practices. If a Magistrate has all the Ability and Probity required in the Administration of his Office, that is, when he is free from those Vices which are incompatible with his Employ, all those which proceed from Human Infirmary must be dispensed with, since they do not affect the Publick, and by Consequence the Princes Choice is secured from all Reproach. For Example, if a Chancellor, a First President, are Lovers of Justice, Protectors of Innocence, impregnable in Matter of Avarice, hardened and secured against Charms and Prayers and the Artifices of Women, who according to Monsieur *Richelieu*, are the Source of all Corruption, the Pest of the Cabinet, Court and State: The Publick has no more to desire in such a Prince and such Magistrates, who have acquitted themselves of their Duty in all Respects to the State. In his *Politick Testament*, Part 1. Chap. the Last. Sect. 5. and Part 2. Chap. 8. On the contrary, if a Chancellor, who by Virtue of his Place is Guardian of the Laws, comes to tread them under his Foot, as the

Cardinal *de Birague* did, who acknowledged as a Reason, that he was not Chancellor of the Kingdom, or as his Successor the Count *de Chiverny*, who, not regarding the *Decorum* which his so serious a Dignity obliged him to keep, lived in Publick Adultery with the Marchioness *de Sourdis*; this Defect in Probity, can never be recompensed by all the other Moral or Political Virtues, because that is wanting which is most necessary and essential to the right exercising it. *Le Coneftagio* tells us, that the King, Cardinal of *Portugal*, had more Virtues, than Vices; but notwithstanding this, he was more Vicious than Virtuous, because his Virtues were those of a Priest, but his Vices were those of a Prince. Wherefore *Cabrera* ridicules the Formality observed in his Reign, in the Execution of Criminals, in which Case he would not suffer himself to be mentioned, making scruple of doing Justice in his Name upon the Account of his Character of Priest, tho' it was a Principal Part of his Duty in Quality of King. In his *History*, L. 12. Chap. 12.

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THE

## Year of ROME, 787.

XXIX. IN the Consulate of *Paulus Fabius*, and *Lucius Vitellius*<sup>a</sup>, after the Revolution of many Ages, the *Phoenix* appeared in *Agypt*<sup>b</sup>, and afforded ample Matter to the *Virtuosos* of *Greece* and *Africk* to discourse on. I shall set down the Relations which Tradition has given us of this famous Bird, part of which are found true by Experience, and the rest, however fabulous or uncertain, are curious and diverting. Naturalists tell us, this Bird is dedicated to the Sun, and is very different from other Fowls in its Figure of his Body, and the ranging of his Feathers. The common Opinion is, that he lives Five hundred Years, tho' some have extended this to Fourteen hundred and threescore, and they assure us, there is never more than one of the Species in the World at one time, and that the first was seen under the Empire of *Sesostris*, the second in the Reign of *Amasis*, and the third in the time of *Ptolomy*<sup>c</sup>, one of the Successors of *Alexander*, and the third of the *Macedonian* Race, that reigned in *Agypt*. They tell us, under the last Prince, this third *Phoenix*

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>a</sup> Father to the Emperor *Vitellius*.

<sup>b</sup> Some, says *Mariana*, pretend the *Phoenix* which appeared near the end of the Reign of *Tiberius*, as *Dion*, *Tacitus* and *Pliny* relate, was a Prognostick and Prenunciative Sign of the Resurrection of the Son of God, because it appeared at the same Time. The *Phoenix* is a Bird which revives from its own Ashes. *Hist. of Spain* L. 4. C. 1.

<sup>c</sup> *Ptolomy* surnamed *Evergetes*, or the Benefactor, Son of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*.

*Phoenix* arrived at *Heliopolis*, a City which derives its Name from the Sun, accompanied with an infinite Number of other Birds, admiring the Novelty of the Figure. The obscure and imperfect History of those remote Ages, has confounded Truth and Fable. But from *Ptolomy* to *Tiberius*, are but Two hundred and fifty Years; for which Reason many doubt, whether this was the true *Phoenix* of *Arabia*, or not, since this wanted many of the Marks, ascribed, by the Ancients, to the other: Who tell us, The *Phoenix*, when he finds himself prest with the Weight of Years, and sees his End approaching, builds himself a Nest in his Native Country, to which he communicates a Generative Principle, out of which a young Fœtus arises; whose first Care, by that time he's well fledg'd, is, to render his Father the Honours of Burial, all which, they pretend, he performs with a marvellous Instinct: In the first place collecting a great quantity of Myrrh, which he fetches from remote Places, to make the first Essays of Strength; next, when he finds himself able to sustain the Fatigue of the Journey, charging on his Back the Body of his deceased Parent, and flying streight to the Altar of the Sun, he then leaves it there to be consumed in the Flames. A great part of this is Fiction and Romance; but most certain it is, such a Bird was seen in *Egypt* <sup>d</sup>.

XXX. Whilst the City was fill'd with Blood and perpetual Murders, *Pomponius Labeo*, who had been Governour of *Mæsia*, cut his own Throat, to prevent his Condem-

#### HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>d</sup> The Subject of the Phoenix, as it is treated by *Tacitus* upon occasion of the News which came to *Rome*, of a Phoenix which appeared in *Egypt*, under the Reign of *Tiberius*, is within the Rules of a just Digression. The Subject is fully exhausted by a Relation of the different Opinions of Naturalists concerning that Bird, its Properties, Shape, and all comprised in a few Words. *Rapin's Instructions for History*, Article 22.

<sup>d</sup> The

Condemnation, and *Prææa*, his Wife, followed his Example. The Fear of Execution made these Self-Murders very frequent; for by this means they prevented the Confiscation of their Estates, and gained the Honours of Burial, which were denied to Persons condemned; an Advantage they allowed for Expedition and Dispatch. The Emperour having Advice brought of this Accident, sent his Letters to the Senate, wherein he tells them, *He had interdicted Labeo his Court, according to the Example of his Predecessors, when they broke off all Commerce and Friendship: That he being Conscious to himself of Malversation in his Province, and other Crimes, had endeavoured to cover his Faults, under pretence of the Emperour's Cruelty: That he had given a false Alarm to his Wife, who was in no Danger, tho' perhaps she might be Guilty.* Next *Mamercus Scaurus* was attacked a second time; a Man of Noble Extraction, eminent for his Eloquence, but of a leud and infamous Life. It was not his Friendship to *Sejanus*, but his profest Enmity to *Macro*, which was the Cause of his Ruin. The one had not less Power to hurt, but used it with more Disimulation and Fineness (1). *Scaurus* was accused of Composing a Tragedy against *Tiberius*, under a borrowed Argument, and several Verses were alledged, which highly reflected on the Emperour (2). *Servili-*  
us,

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) Most commonly Favourites, who succeed others, who have at once lost their Favour and Lives, use great Precautions to prevent their Vessel being wreck'd on the same Shelves with their Predecessor; having ever an Example before them to admonish them, that the Favour of Princes is no Inheritance.

(2) Authors, who publish their Works in their Life time, ought to be cautious; and it very often happens, if they leave a Blot, their Enemies hit it. If a Word, Instance, Piece of History, may be applied to any Action, Fault or Defect in a Prince, his Courtiers, Flatterers, and a thousand other People, who pretend to penetrate the Thoughts of the Writer, presently cry out *Bastillabile dictum*. It deserves the *Bastille*: For the rest, it every day happens, the Favourites of Princes revenge their private Quarrels, under colour of vindicating the Honour of their Masters.

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(3) That

us, and *Cornelius*, the Informers, objected several other Crimes; particularly, that he had committed Adultery with *Livia the Younger*, and had practised Magick. *Scaurus*, not degenerating from the ancient *Amilii*, from whom he was descended, anticipated his Sentence, at the Instance of *Sexitia* his Wife, who was his Counsellor and Companion in this Generous Death (3).

XXXI. The Informers were sometimes punished as occasion offered; and these two Fellows, who had made themselves famous by the Fall of so great an Adversary, were banished into the Islands, interdicted the Use of Fire and Water, for taking Money of *Varius Ligur*, to desist from the Information they exhibited against him. *Abudius Rufus*, formerly *Ædile*, was banished from *Rome*, for attempting to have *Lentulus Getulicus* called in question, under whom he had commanded a Legion. He accused him of Marrying his Daughter to *Sejanus's* Son (1). *Lentulus* at that time commanded the Army in the Upper Germany, and had mightily endeared his Soldiers by his Clemency and Indulgence (2), and had an Interest in the other neighbouring Armies, by means of *Lucius Apronius*, his Fa-

ther.

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

(3) That Advice is generally most effectual and prevalent, whose Author puts it in Practice himself. For this Reason, *Mutian* advising *Vespasian* to seize the Empire, uses this Expression, *Discrimen ac pericula ex æquo partiemur*: We will equally share the Fatigue and Danger.

(1) Those, who are honoured with the Alliance, or Friendship of a Favourite, are ever persecuted after his Death, or Disgrace. The Superintendence of the Finances, and the Post of Secretary of State were taken from *Monfieur de Bothillier*, and *Monfieur de Charvigny* his Son, in hatred to the Memory of the Cardi-

nal de *Richelieu*, whose Creatures they were. Such is the Flux and Reflux of Human Affairs, and particularly of Court Favour; and nothing is more certain than its inconstancy.

(2) A Governour of a remote Province, who is at the Head of an Army, that Love and Respect him, is a dangerous Person. Experience has taught us, that a Man of Courage, who has the Power in his Hands, will be Arbitrer of his own Duty and Obedience, and when any Attempt is made to clip his Wings, he thinks himself to have a Right to revolt. The Duke d'*Epemon*, the

ther-in-Law, their General (3). The Report ran, that he had the Boldness to write to *Tiberius*, That he had no Inclination of himself to contract an Alliance with *Sejanus*, but acted in it by his Direction (4). That if he had committed an Error, he was the Cause of it: That it was not just he should be punished for a Fault of which the Emperor was equally guilty with himself: That he had always remained firm in his Loyalty, and would persist in it, if he found himself safe from the base Practices of Ill Men: That he should take a Successor for the Harbinger of his Death: That *Tiberius* should let him quietly enjoy the Government of his Province, and he would with Content leave him

to

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

the Favourite of *Henry the Third*, and *Constable Lesdigueres* seem to have been tainted with this Principle: They who admired this gallant Act of *Getulicus*, says *Balzac*, were doubtless of a Humour to follow an Example they admired, if they had been turned out of their Governments, where they acted like so many independent Kings.

(3) A wise Prince ought never to give two great Neighbouring Governments to Persons nearly allied, especially if they live in good Intelligence together; for, where-ever he disgusts the one, he shall be sure to have both on his Arms, when they shall find an Opportunity to amend their Condition. I can never forget, says the Cardinal d'*Ossat*, how dear it has cost the Royal Family of France, by making the Houses of *Lorraine*, who have made War upon our Kings and their State, by the principal Governments and Dignities, as well Secular as Ecclesiastick, which the too great Facility, and want of Providence in our Kings has put into the Hands of Foreign Princes, of one and the same House,

against all Reason of State. Letter 90. If the King fears nothing for himself, yet it would be a thing worthy of his Prudence, to provide for the Security of his Successors, since that House is but already too great: And we should profit little by things past and present, if we should suffer it to take farther footing. That our former Kings have considered these things, and made good use of them, as all other Princes do at this present; and since we have neglected these, and such like things, all is gone to Decay and Ruin. Letter 78.

(4) It is a great Imprudence in a Prince, to suffer his Prime Minister of State to marry his Children to those of his great Generals, who have an Interest in the Army, by long Command: This is in effect, to render his Minister Master in the Field, as well as the Cabinet. For Instance, if *Sejanus* had penetrated the Design of *Tiberius* to take him off, was he not in a Condition to have dethroned him, by joining the *Prætorian Cohortes*, of which he was Commander with the Legions, which *Getulicus* commanded in Germany?

to enjoy the rest of the Empire (5). This will seem strange, and would be scarce credible, if *Lentulus* had not been the only Man allied to *Sejanus*, who escaped and remain'd in Favour: For *Tiberius* being now in an extreme Age, and expos'd to the Hatred of his Subjects (6), would not venture to push Things to Extremity (7), well knowing his Government, was supported more by its Reputation (8), than real Power.

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(5) A remarkable Instance of the Rique those Princes run, who continue their Governours too long. *V. Lib. 1. Artic. 74. Note 1.*

(6) A Prince, who is hated by his People, ought at any Price to avoid War; for the first Check which he receives, the publick Hatred breaks forth. It was upon this Account *Lewis* the Eleventh said, after the Battle of *Montlebery*, if the City of *Paris* would not receive him, he would retire into *Switzerland*, or to the Duke of *Milan*, his great Friend. *Memoirs of Commynes, Lib. 1. Cap. 8.* A Foreign War is not so much to be feared by a Prince, as the Revolt of a Great Man, who has an Army on Foot; for, whereas People regard Strangers, with whom their Prince is in War, as Enemies; they consider a powerful Rebel as their Friend, who vindicates them from the Oppression of a Prince whom they hate.

(7) Princes ought to dissemble what they are not able to remedy; otherwise, they run a Risque of losing all. *Commines* speaking of the Interview between *Lewis* the Eleventh, and the Constable de *S. Pol.* in which they were reconciled: To take the King's Part, says he, I think he acted like a Man of good Sense, for I believe the Constable would have been received Duke of *Burgundy*, if he had made himself Master of *St. Quintin* . . . . . A great

many People thought he was compelled to it by Fear, but they were deceived; for he knew when it was time to fear, and when not. And I must give him this just Character, that I never knew any Man wiser in Adversity. *In his Memoirs, Book 3, Chap. 12.* Some might censure the King for too mean a Condescension; but the Kingdom was in very great Danger. We had at that time abundance of concealed Mischiefs, which would have broke out, and put the whole Kingdom into Disorder, if this Accommodation had not been made. *Book 4. Chap. 7.*

(8) Whatever Power a Prince has, he must ever be weak, if his Reputation be low. Great States support themselves by Reputation as much as by any means, and sometimes more than by real Strength and Power. . . . . It is not the Revenue, which creates a Reputation, but it is Reputation which acquires the Revenue: Reputation serves as a Provision against Adversities which may happen, and disposes to receive such Prosperity and good Fortune, as time shall offer and present. *Letter 239. Cabrera* in the last Chapter of the Fifth Book of his History, speaks thus of the Reputation of a Prince: It is, says he, a Prerogative, which proceeds from Virtue, Splendor, and great Designs, from Words and Actions, which are agreeable to the Interest of State. It is like the Peel

Peel of an Apple, which renders it fine by the Variety and Vivacity of its Colours: As that Fruit is preserved a long time intire and whole, whilst its Skin is entire; and on the contrary, if that be gone, it instantly grows rotten and black: The Case is the same in the Business of Reputation. It is that which preserves Monarchies in a flourishing State, while it is preserved; but if it be suffer'd to sink, they immediately fall to Decay and Ruin. Some People assert, Reputation consists in the Opinion the People have of their Prince, who knows how to maintain his Rank and Dignity; It is this which makes Princes respected amongst their Neighbours, who omit nothing that may make for their Honour in Peace or War; when

they govern with that Wisdom, that their Subjects obey them with Love and Reverence, and avoid Dissentions, Troubles and Conspiracies, being fully perswaded, that their Prince is willing, and able to maintain Peace and Obedience. All other Losses do not equal the least which a Prince sustains in the Matter of Reputation, and we can expect no good from him, that will not spend his Blood to maintain that, when a necessity requires it. *Francis* the First made such an Account of it, that in a Letter which he writ to his Mother upon losing his Liberty; he says nothing more to comfort her for this Disgrace, but this Line: *Madam*, says he, *we have lost every Thing but our Honour.* Epitomy of the Life of *Charles* the Fifth.

## THE

## Year of ROME, 788.

XXXII. **I**N the Consulate of *Caius Cestius*, and *Marcus Servilius*, some Noble *Parthians* came privately to *Rome*, without the leave of *Artabanus* their King. This Prince had shewn great Moderation to his Subjects, and Fidelity to the *Romans*, in the Life-time of *Germanicus*, whom he did not dare to offend (1); but when he was delivered from all Apprehension by his Death, he became insolent to us, and cruel to his Vassals. His Success in his Wars against his neighbouring Nations (2), and the extream Age of *Tiberius*, which

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) It is an Advantage to a Prince and his State, to have a Neighbour whom he respects, for by this means the Prince is wiser, and his Subjects more happy. I think, says *Commines*, God has created nothing in the World, neither Men nor Beasts, but he has given them some Curb or other, to keep them in Fear and Humility.... To Sovereign Princes he has opposed Commonwealths, and other popular Governments, to oblige them to carry themselves even. In his *Memoirs*, Book 5. Chapter the last.

(2) There is nothing inspires a Prince with more Presumption and Pride, than the Success of his Arms; if Nature has not given him the Spirit of Moderation, he is presently possessed with an Opinion, that every thing must submit to the Power of

his Arms. *Commines* ascribes the first Cause of the Misfortunes of the last Duke of *Burgundy* to his gaining the Battle of *Montlbery*: For, says he, esteeming the Glory all his own, he would have no regard to Advice, but acted all things of his own Head; and he, who before that time was an utter Stranger to Matters of War, and took no Pleasure in any thing which related to it, continued in it to the end of his Life, to the utter ruin, or at least great impairing his House. In his *Memoirs*, Book 1. Chap. 4. Not to mention other Warlike Princes of the Humour of this Duke, who can never disengage themselves, but, who the more entangled they are, the more they will entangle themselves. In the same place.

(3) A

which rendered him incapable of Business, inspired him with Courage, and gave him the Boldness to seize on the Kingdom of *Armenia*, after the Death of *Artaxias*, and place on the Throne *Arsaces* his eldest Son, and to add a new Bravade to this Injustice, sent to demand Restitution of the Treasure which *Vonones* had left in *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and the Lands which anciently belonged to the *Macedonians* and *Persians*: Adding Menaces, and vainly boasting, He would re-establish the Conquests of *Cyrus* and *Alexander* (3). *Abdus* and *Simaces* were the principal Authors of this private Embassy; both eminent for their Nobility and Wealth. The first was the chiefest Man of the Empire; the other second, tho' an Eunuch; for this Defect of Virility, instead of being ignominious, is honourable, among this barbarous People, and ordinarily Eunuchs are possessed of the greatest Places in the Government (4). These Men being none of the Race of *Arsaces* fit to Command them, some being under Age, and others killed by the Command of *Artabanus*, sent to *Rome*, to demand the Son of *Phraates*, who bore his Father's Name, urging, That the Name of *Tiberius*, and *Phraates*, was enough to restore the young Prince to the Throne of the *Arsacides*; and, that the *Parthians* would come in to them from all Parts, when they should appear on the Banks of *Euphrates*.

XXXIII. Ti-

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) A Prince must be very blind, who can flatter himself whilst he is hated by his own People, with hopes of making himself Master of the Territories of a Neighbour more powerful than himself. At such a picture, says *Commines*, instead of securing him in his Necessities, they condemn him, and rise in Rebellion against him, without regard to the Allegiance they owe. In his *Memoirs*, Chap. 5. Chap. the last.

(4) There is less Inconvenience

follows the putting the Publick Affairs in the Hands of Eunuchs, than committing them to Women. There are a great Number of Magistrates and Ministers of State, who are wholly governed by that proud and imperious Sex: Men, who make those the Mistresses of their Will and Power, who are so of their Pleasures. If Men were Eunuchs, it would go better with their Conscience and Honour: If any Man shall object the Loss of Virility will emasculate their Minds,

XXXIII. *Tiberius* was ravish'd with this Proposition, and instantly puts *Phraates* in an Equipage suiting his Character, and sends him with Forces necessary to take possession of his Father's Throne ; nevertheless, adhering to his old Resolution, of managing all Foreign Affairs more by Policy than Force (1). *Artabanus* having Advice of the Conspiracy, was inflamed with an impatient Desire of Revenge ; but apprehending the ill Consequences of Precipitation, ballanced sometime between Fears and Passion (2) : At last, (however it is accounted servile and mean, among that barbarous People, to temporize, and a Mark of a truly Noble and Generous Spirit, to proceed to sudden Execution), Interest prevails, and he invited *Abdus* to an Entertainment, where he gave him a lingring Poyson. Next, to obstruct the Designs of *Sinnaces*, he engages him with Presents, and false Caresses, and amuses him with several great Employs he heaps on him. In the mean time,

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

Minds, and by Consequence, render them unfit for Government ; I answer, those who abandon themselves to Women, are sure to lose their Masculine Nature in both respects ; as we see daily by Examples, more worthy our Curses than Compassion: Not to mention divers Eunuchs, who have preserved the Health of their Bodies, and Vigour of their Minds much better than Men given to Excess with Women, who have at once ruined their Bodies and Souls. Good God ! what a Multitude of Men have made themselves Eunuchs, by the immoderate indulging their sensual Appetites.

(1) When a Prince attempts to ruin his Enemies by Negotiations, by corrupting their Friends or Allies, or by any other means, it usually succeeds much better than open War. In this manner *Lewis* the Eleventh proceeded to the entire Ruin of the

Duke of Burgundy, in forming against him the Leagues of *Germiny*, and the Imperial Cities : The King, says he, did him more Mischief in exasperating his Enemies against him privily, than if he had declared open War against him : For when that Duke should have once seen such a Declaration made, he would have quitted his Enterprize, and nothing which happened would have come to pass. *In his Memoirs, Book 5. Chap. 4.*

(2) Plots, when they happen to be discovered, must be managed with abundance of Nicety, the least Appearances must pave for Certainities . . . There is no room to wait for a full Discovery, which often cannot be but by the Event. Those who engage in these desperate Affairs, are most commonly sensible of their Danger they expose themselves to, in not finishing what they begin,

time, *Phraates* having quitted the Roman Way of Living, which he had been accustomed to for so many Years, and accommodating himself to that of the *Parthians*, too severe for so weak a Constitution, dies in *Syria* (3). *Tiberius* unwilling to forsake his Enterprize (4), chuses *Tiridates*, who was of the Royal Blood, for his Successor ; and to facilitate the Conquest of *Armenia*, procures *Mithridates* to be reconciled to his Brother *Pharasmanes*, who enjoy'd the Kingdom of *Alberia*, by Right of Succession (5). After this, he put the Direction of Affairs in the East, to *Lucius Vellius*, who governed those Provinces with a truly ancient Virtue (6). I am not insensible he had an ill Reputation

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

and by Consequence, will endeavour to prevent Surprize. *In the 1st Section of the Politick Testament.* In such cases, says the Cardinal *Ossat*, we cannot be too credulous or too diligent, and very often Advice comes at just time enough to prevent the Execution. *Letter 79.*

(3) In Affairs of State, no more than Medicine, are we permitted to pass from one extrem to another. The Art of *Physick*, and the Art of Government, says *Cavriana*, are nearly allied, and will not suddenly turn from one manner of living to another which is quite different ; but this is especially true in Princes, whose Complexion is very nice and delicate. *Quæ Consuetudo sunt, says Galen, minus nocent, quam quæ suapte natura innocentiora nunquam veniunt in consuetudinem.*

(4) The Government of a State requires a Masculine Courage and a steady Constancy. When Success fails, there is at least this Advantage, he escapes the Disgrace, who cannot escape the Misfortune . . . If one time is not favourable for the Execution of a good Design, another

perhaps may, and when we have once set our Hands to work, if the Difficulties we find in the way oblige us to supersede it, we must renew it again when Time and Opportunity are more favourable : In short, if we have begun a good Work, we must never quit it, unless some Accident fall out, which makes it impracticable, and we must omit nothing which may conduce to the Execution of that which is resolved upon with Reason. *In the Politick Testament, Chap. 2. Page 2.*

(5) The Light of Natural Reason teaches to have special Regard to our Neighbour, since they have both a Power of hurting and serving us, as the Outworks of a Place hinder the Enemy from approaching the Walls. *In the Pol. Test. Chap. 2. Page 2.*

(6) Since it often happens, that good Men have not the greatest Abilities for Government, we must not wonder that Princes most commonly prefer to Men of Probity, such who have a greater Intelligence, Activity, Firmness of Mind, Practice of the World, Experience, Qualities, all necessary for the Management of



putation in Rome, and divers infamous Stories are still published of him. It is true, after his return, corrupted by the Fear of *Caligula*; and the Favour of *Claudius*; he has remain'd to Posterity an Example of Baseness and Flattery, and eclipsed the Lustre of the first part of his Life by the Infamy of the latter.

XXXIV. *Mithridates* was the first of these petty Kings, who made War on *Artabanus*; he engaged his Brother *Pharasmannes*, to second his Attempt with open Arms, and secret Treachery, employing Persons to corrupt the Domesticks of *Arfaces*, to assassinate him. In the mean time, *Mithridates*, with the *Hiberi*, enters *Armenia* with a powerful Army, and seized *Artaxata*, the capital City. *Artabanus*, upon the Arrival of this News, sends his Son *Orodes*, with what Troops he had

in

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

Publick Business. A Man, says that Cardinal, may be very Conscientious, which, yet through the Want of some one of these Qualities, shall be less fit for great Employments, than him, who being Master of all these Qualities, may have some little blemish in his Morals. The Probity of a Minister of State does not require a nice and a scrupulous Conscience; on the contrary, nothing can be more dangerous to a Government: For, as on the one hand, a Man of no Conscience must needs do a abundance of Wrong; so on the other, frequent Fears and Scruples create a perpetual Irresolution; and it often happens, that those Men, who tremble at every small Accident, ruin those Affairs which they might escape without this needless Concern. *Ferdinand*, Great Duke of *Tuscany*, used to say to this purpose, That he prefer'd a corrupt Person before an easie Man, because the first could not in all Cases be governed by Interest; Temptations being not every where to be met with; where-

as the latter would yield where-ever he was pressed. In the *Politick Testament*, Part 1. Chap. the Last, Sec. 1. When the Queen Mother preferred Cardinal *Mazarin* to the Bishop of *Beauvais*, who was a very devout Man, the very Friends of that Bishop did acknowledge she had made as good Choice then, as she had ill before, in making the Bishop her first Minister. She could never have chosen a Man of greater Integrity, and less Ability, says *de la Chastre*; this good Prelate not having a Head strong enough for that Post. However scrupulous *Philip* the Second was, or affected to appear, he would have no Ministers so, according to the Testimony of *Cabrera*. The Bishop of *Pampelone*, *Don Antonio de Fonseca*, was very troublesome to him, in his Post of President of *Castile*, a Man who was more governed by a timorous Conscience, than the Necessity of Affairs, which required a Presence of Mind and Resolution. *History of Philip the Second*, Letter 1.

(.) Is

readiness, to Revenge the Affront, and employs all Diligence to raise a new Army. *Pharasmannes*, of his side, omitted nothing for his Defence, and fortifies himself with the addition of the *Albanians*, and *Sarmatians*, with whom were the *Sepruchae*, Soldiers of Fortune, who received Pay of both sides, some fighting in the Service of the *Hiberi*, others of the *Parthians*. In the mean time, the former making themselves Masters of the Pass, sung an Army of the *Sarmatians*, over the *Caspian* Mountains, into *Armenia*; and commanding all the Avenues, hindered those who came to the Assistance of the *Parthians*, from entering the Country. There was indeed another Pass between the *Caspian* Sea, and the Mountains of *Armenia*; but this was under Water, by reason of the Easterly Winds, which drove the Waves on the Shoar; whereas the Southerly Winds drive them back into the Sea, and leave the Land dry.

XXXV. *Pharasmannes*, finding himself strong enough, provoked *Orodes* to fight, who having for a long time endured the Insults of his Enemy, who kept him besieged in his Camp, and cut off his Forage, and pressed by the Murmur of his Soldiers, who were not of a Humour to suffer the Bravade of the Enemy, at last resolved to give them Battle without expecting further Assistance, tho' he had little Infantry with him. The *Parthians* fight only on Horseback, whereas the *Hiberi* and *Albanians*, bred in the Forests, support the Fatigue, and are better Foot-men. They pretend to be descended

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

The *Sarmatian* Christians have not yet quite lost it. In these Countries they have Easterly and Northern Winds, which ordinarily blow, during the Extremity of the hot Weather, and continue fifteen Days.

■ Mon-



ded from the Thessalians (1), about the Time when Jason, after he had stole Medea and had Children by her, return'd to Colchus, and found the Throne vacant by the Death of Eta. They pretend to shew you divers Monuments of their Original, and have a great Veneration for the Oracle of Phryxus, and no Person may presume to sacrifice a Ram, because the Tradition runs, That Prince was brought into their Country on the Back of that Animal, which I rather believe was a Ship with that Picture. The Armies being ranged in order of Battle, Orodes made an Harangue, extolling the Greatness of the Parthian Empire, and the glorious Deeds of the Arsacidæ, treating with Contempt the Petty King of the Hiberi, and his mercenary Troops (2). On the other side, Pharasmanes represented to his Men, That they had ever preserved themselves from the Parthian Yoke: That the Greatness of their Enterprize would be an Eternal Honour to them, if they return'd victorious: That Flight would be equally ignominious and dangerous (3). That they should look on themselves as in their rough and warlike Figure, in comparison of the gilded Arms, and Splendour of the Medes. That the Soldiers were on the one side, and the Booty on the other (4).

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) It is a Folly of most Nations and Great Cities to derive themselves from a Fabulous Origin, to do themselves the Honour of Antiquity.

(2) Of all sorts of Soldiers, the Mercenary is worst; Machiavel gives this Reason: Mercenary Troops, says he, are always divided, Ambitious, without Discipline, without Affection or Fidelity to the Princes who employ them. They are ready to serve you whilst you have no War upon your Hands: but when it comes too far, they see the Danger, and either leave the Service or fly. In his Prince Ch. 12.

(3) Brave Men save themselves by

their Hands; that is, Fighting till Death or Victory; but Cowards trust to their Heels.

(4) Do not suffer your selves, says Agricola, to be dazzled with the Splendour of Gold or Silver, which serve neither as Arms Offensive or Defensive. In the Life of Agricola. In War, says he, rich Cloaths and great Equipage serve as a Spur to the Avarice of the Enemy. It is a Matter held for certain, by those who have the most Experience in that Trade, that when Soldiers go into the Field in their Gold and Silks, they come off with Death or Chains; but those who go well provided with Iron return laden with Gold and Silver.

(1) The

XXXVI. When the Prince had ended, the Sarmatæ, after their manner, began to encourage one another, saying each to his Fellow, Come, let us run streight upon the Enemy, Sword in Hand, and deprive them of the Advantage they have over us in their Arrows: Which they instantly did. This made the Figure of the Battle very various; the Parthians, who could as well maintain the Fight in their Retreat, as pursuing, gave back, endeavouring to gain space for their Arrows: The other, on the contrary, had flung away their Bows, to fight Hand to Hand with their Sabres and Battle-Axes; one while, as in a Horse-Fight, they Advanced and Retreated; then again closing like so many Battalions of Infantry, and rudely falling one upon another, mutually repelled each other by Turns. At last, the Parthians being engaged between the Infantry and the Hiberian Cavalry, were beaten off their Horses; and to compleat their Misfortune, Pharasmanes, and Orodes, encountering each other as they rid to and fro, to encourage the Soldiers, and bring them up, Orodes was wounded through his Helmet; the other could not redouble his Blow, being carried off by the fleetness of his Horse, and the Guards coming in to the Relief of the Wounded: But the Rumor of his Death being diffused through the Army, compleated the Defeat.

XXXVIII. Artabanus, impatient of Revenge, assembled all his Forces, and marches with them; but was beat by the Hiberians, who were better acquainted with

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

Monsieur de Charvalon observes, That the Hungarians, at this Day, fight in this manner, stinging like so many Flies, whilst you press them, and then rallying at the Sound of their Cymbals, to charge the Enemy when they are in Disorder.

with the Country (1). This would not have obliged him to Retreat, if *Vitellius* had not made a Feint of a Design upon *Mesopotamia*, and drew up his Legions into a Body. This Motion utterly ruin'd his Affairs, and obliged him to return out of *Armenia*. Upon this, *Vitellius* took occasion to press the *Parthians*, to throw off a Prince who was ever cruel in Peace, and unfortunate in War (2). *Sinnaces*, a Malecontent, whom I before mentioned, privately solicits his Father, *Abdagasis*, to Revolt. A great many joyned with them, who more readily complied, seeing *Artabanus*, weakened by his continual Losses; and the People, who were kept in their Obedience more by Fear than Love, took up Arms, seeing the Great Men of the Kingdom at their Head (3). *Artabanus*, in this General Defection, had none but Foreigners left, who were of his Guard, mercenary Men, exiled from their own Country, and ready to commit Villany for Hire; Men void of all Sense of Good or Evil. With these he flies into *Scythia*.

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) The Knowledge of the Nature and Disposition of the Place of Battle is one of the most necessary Parts of War. And it is one of the Principal Military Virtues which *Tacitus* commends in *Agricola*, *Non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse*. As Physicians can never order any thing to the Purpose, without a perfect Knowledge of the Natural Position of the Parts of a Human Body, and the Subordination of one to the other; so the Generals of an Army can never undertake an Enterprize if he do not exactly know the Chart of a Country where he is to fight. This Science is the true Military Anatomy.

(2) Warlike People, such as were the *Parthians*, never obey Princes

who love not War, or are not successful in it, but with regret. The *Polanders* repented for a long time after the Choice of *Sigismund* the III. because he had no Inclination to War, and instead of visiting the Frontiers, according to the Advice of the great Marshal of his Kingdom, *Zebrydowski*, he applied himself to Divisions which made him contemptible, such as Chymistry, in which he spent immense Sums, and Music, for which he had an extream Passion. *Chronicle of Piatecki*.

(3) When a Prince is once fallen into the General Hatred of Great Men, who take up Arms against him, the Body of the People generally fall in with the Stream, and an Army is more easily had than a Leader.

(4) There

and the remote Provinces, in hopes of procuring some Assistance from the *Carmanians*, and the *Hircani*, who were his Allies, and to give time to the Fickleness and Inconstancy of the *Parthians*, who are commonly disgusted with their present Princes (4), and soon regret their Absence.

XXXVIII. *Vitellius*, upon the Desertion of *Artabanus*, finding them disposed to receive a new Master, persuaded *Tiridates* to embrace this Opportunity (1), and advances to the Bank of *Euphrates*, with the Flower of the Roman Legions, and the Confederate Troops: As they sacrificed, the one after the Roman Manner, a Swine, a Sheep, and a Bull; the other, a Horse, to appease the River. The neighbouring Inhabitants assure

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

There are few Princes have a good Fortune to please their People from the Beginning of their Reign to the End. The People are fickle and Changeable, and either Good or Just a Prince may be will always be disgusted at him if he reigns long. *Cabrera* of *Philip II.* was so much beloved in the First Year of his Reign, when he went to visit the Provinces, the ways were filled with Crowds of People, who ran from all parts to see him and adore him; but his Heat after abated with Time, being impossible for a Prince to be always with that Equality, that the World shall be contented with him. For as the Necessities of the State grow from Day to Day, new Subsidies are still necessary to supply these Exigences of State, which murmur and resent this hard treatment, never considering that being Parts, their Safety is involved in that of the whole Body, so that when the State shall fall into the Hands of Foreigners, they will irretrievably lose both their

Houses and Goods, *Hist. L. 9. C. the last*. Elective Princes are still more unfortunate. It has happened to the Great Master of *Malta*, says *Paul V.* to *Monfieur de Marquemont*, as it ordinarily does to elective Princes, when they live long; they gain abundance of ill Will, and the World studies to create them trouble, as I experimented my self. In a Letter of this Prelate of Sept. 4. 1617. *V. L. 2. C. 2. Reflection 2.*

(.) History is full of the Examples of Princes, who have lost their States, which they might have had, for want of knowing how to profit by their Opportunity. Whilst *Rene*, Duke of *Lorraine*, amused himself with soliciting at the Court of *Charles* the Eighth, the Restitution of *Provence*, which the King was resolved to keep, he lost the Crown of *Naples*, which had been deferred to him by the Barons of the Kingdom, with the Consent of Pope Innocent the Eighth. *Commines*, Book 7. Chap. 1. *Sigismund* the Third, King of *Poland*, being obstinately bent on the Siege of *Smolensko* in 1610, lost

sure us, the *Euphrates*, without the addition of Rain, swell'd up to a vast degree, and the white Froth of the Waves compos'd a Figure, which represented a *Dial*. This was interpreted as a *Presage of the happy Possession of Tiridates* (2). Others, more subtly, applied it to signify *prosperous Beginnings, which should be but of small continuance* (3); because the *Waters which are in an incessant Motion, cannot, like the Heavens, and the Earth, afford Solid and Lasting Presages, but deprive us of their Favours, at the same time they present 'em*. The Army having past the River upon a Bridge of Boats, *Ormisades* was the first who came in to them, attended with a great Number of Cavalry. This Lord had been

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

the Opportunity he had of seizing the Capital City of the Duchy of *Muscovy*, and driving out the Duke *Vasili Surski*, and the Anti-duke *Demetrius*, who divided the City into two Factions: And sometime after *Stanislaus Zolkiewski*, General of the Polish Army, having caused the Prince *Uladislaus* to be elected Great Duke of *Muscovy*, *Sigismund* lost that Duchy, by neglecting to send his Son, to take Possession in the Name of *Uladislaus*, whilst *Zolkiewski* was in the City with his Army. *Prasjeki's Chronicle*.

(2) Flatterers interpret every thing to the Advantage of a Prince, especially upon his Accession to the Throne, which is a time when they are most susceptible of vain Hopes. The Comet, which appear'd in *Portugal*, at the End of the Year 1577, that is, about the time that King *Sebastien* made his Preparatives for his unfortunate Expedition into *Africa*, where he perished with all his Army; there were several Interpreters in the Court, as well as his Counsel, who fearing his Displeasure more than that of Heaven, to

comply with his violent Temper, told him, That Comet was a lucky Omen of his Success in that Enterprize, and seem'd to speak after this manner, *V. A. accometa. Hic* in the Second Part of his History adds, That the same Comet appear'd in *Flanders, Italy*, and at *Constantinople*; and that the Grand Seigneur consulting the Doctors of the Law, they all answered with their usual Flattery (this being a Vice from which Infidels are not more exempt than Christians) that it portended new Prosperities and Greatness to the Ottoman Family: Which quadrated better here to the present Posture of their Affairs, Arch-duke *Matthias* having accepted the Government of the Rebellious Provinces of the Low Countries, where *Don Juan* resided then in the Name of the King of Spain; the House of *Austria* ruining it self by its Division. Chap. 22, 23.

(3) We must not be too Superstitious in observing Presages, which are often uncertain and deceitful; yet there are some which merit our Attention, and from which we may draw

formerly banished out of his Country, and brought a considerable Aid to *Tiberius*, at the End of the *Dalmatian War*; in Recompense of which Good Service, he was made Citizen of *Rome*. After, returning Home, he was in greater Favour than ever, and made Governor of *Mesopotamia*. Next, *Sinnaces* arrived in the Camp; and after him, *Abdageses*, who brought with him the Treasures of *Artabanus*, and his Military Provisions. *Vitellius* then began to exhort *Tiridates*, to follow the glorious Examples of his Grand-Father *Phraates*, and his Patron, *Tiberius*: And conjuring them to preserve their Allegiance to their Prince, and their Deference to the Roman Empire, to act in all Things like Men of Honour and Fidelity. And then repass'd the River, and return'd into *Syria*, with his Legions; thinking it enough, that he had carried the Roman Banner beyond the *Euphrates*.

XXXIX. I have put together these Wars, which are the Subject of two several Years, to give my Reader a little Relaxation from the continual Repetition

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

draw solid and useful Conjectures: Such was that at the Coronation of *Henry*, who when the Crown was set on his Head, cried aloud, *It hurt him*; which admitted of a worse Interpretation, because it had twice fallen off his Head. *Journal of his Reign*. The Infante *Ferdinand*, Son of *Philip* the Second, being used to sleep always in the Arms of the Marquis *de Verlanga*, when he was born Prince of *Castile*, the Duke of *Medina* said, *An ominous Sleep, he will never enjoy the Crown*; in which he

proved a true Prophet. *Cabrera's History, Book 10. Chap. 1.* — The Cardinal *d'Osset* makes a very judicious Reflection on an Accident, which happened at the Ceremony of the Marriage of the Queen of *Spain*. That Lady, they are his own Words, when she should have been incens'd, jogg'd me, desiring I would reach it to her; which was interpreted as a good Omen, that a Peace would follow between *France* and *Spain*; and those two Crowns lived after in a good Intelligence. *Letter 156.*

(r) When

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

The Turks call that Province *Diar Bekar*.

tion of Domestick Calamities. It was now three Years since the Death of *Sejanus*; but notwithstanding this, neither Time, nor Intreaties, or any other Means, which use to mollifie other Men, could in the least alter the obstinate Temper of *Tiberius*, or abate his Thirst of Revenge; he persisted to punish those Offences which were doubtfully proved, and wholly forgotten. *Fulcinus Trio*, seeing himself expos'd to the Malice of Informers, made himself away, discharging his Mind, in his Testament, against *Macro*, and the principal of the Emperour's Servants, not sparing *Tiberius* himself; objecting, the decay of his Sense, by his extream Age and Absence; which he terms, *Exile* (1). *Tiberius* commanded these Invectives to be publicly read, either in Affectation, to shew his Indifference and Contempt of Calumny, or discover the Practices of *Sejanus*, which he had a long time been ignorant of, and learn the Truth, at the Expence of his Reputation.

XL. About the same time, *Granius Marrianus*, a Senator, accused of High-Treason, by *Caius Gracchus*, made himself away; and *Tatius Gratiannus*, who had been Prætor, was condemned to die. *Trebellianus Rufus*, and *Sextus Paconianus*, made a like Exit; the one killing himself, and the other being strangled in Prison, for

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) When a Prince abandons the Care of Publick Business, he may justly be charged with Doating: A Man must lose his Reason and Sense, to imagine that he can be a Prince, without doing the Office. Never think, says *Commines*, that God has instituted the Office of a King, or Prince, to be exercised by senseless Animals; or by such as shall cry, I leave this to my Council. Book 2. Chap. 6. This reminds me of what the Spanish

*Commines* relates of *Charles the Fifth*: The Emperor *Don Carlos*, says he, passing through a Town of *Aragon*, call'd, *El Frajio*, where, according to the Custom of the Country, they had chosen a King at that *Easter*: This Ludicrous King presented himself to the Emperor, crying, *I am King*; to whom *Charles the Fifth* replied, *Indeed, my Friend, you have got a very troublesome Office*. Chap. 53. Letter 4. This Answer is

a Satyr he made against the Emperour (1). *Tiberius* received the News of these Executions; not by Couriers, who had a Sea to pass, before they could arrive in his Island, but came to the very Gates of his City, (receiving and answering the Letters of the Senate in the same Day); as if he intended to see the Blood run through the Streets, and assist at the Spectacle.

XLI. About the End of this Year died *Poppeius Sabinus*, a Person of a mean Extraction, who had obtained the Honours of Triumph, and the Consulship, by the Favour of his Prince, and governed several great Provinces the Space of Twenty-four Years; his greatest Merit being, that he was capable for Business, and not above it (1).

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

very instructive, since it shews us how different the Sentiments of Princes are from the Vulgar, who know the Fatigue and Drudgery inseparable from their Station.

(1) No Man ought to write against Princes, who have the Power of proscribing the Authors. Such Men, who dare write Libels against their Prince, seldom escape having their Epitaph writ in their Blood.

(2) In the chusing Governours, or great Officers in a State, a Prince may sometimes prefer Men that have less Wit, Ability and Greatness of Mind, if they are more proper for Business, and Affairs of State. A Man of a sublime Wit, is by no means proper to treat with Men of different Parts, because his Elevation will disgust them, when he will not condescend to stoop from his Sphere. The greatest Wits, says the Cardinal de *Richelieu*, are ever the most dangerous in the Management of Affairs, if they have not more Lead than Mercury. — Those Wits are to be feared, whose Vivacity is not accompanied with Solidity of Judgment, but they who excel in the latter Quality, are proper for the

Administration of the Publick Affairs, even though they have no mighty Wit — Great Wits are seldom capable of Society and Council; Qualities without which those very Persons, to whom Nature has given the largest Understanding, are improper for Government. *Politick Testament*, Chap. 8. Sect. 2. Those Wits who are too nice and delicate, he adds in another place, are not fit for Negotiation, because subtilizing every thing, they break the Points in filing them too fine. Part 2. Chap. 6. The Spanish *Commines* tells us, The Duke of *Lerma*, first Minister, and Favourite of *Philip the Third*, King of Spain, was no very great Genius; but his Government, says he, is, and ever will be, commended for being peaceable without Wars, and odious impositions. Besides this, he made a League with *England*, and after a Truce with *Holland*, Chap. 187. Letter B b. On the contrary, the Conde Duke was ever unsuccessful, though he had as much Wit as the Cardinal *Richelieu*, his Adversary, as I have heard very intelligent Persons affirm.

## THE

## Year of ROME, 789.

XLII. WE enter now upon the Consulate of *Quintus Plautius*, and *Sextus Papinius* a. \* \* \* Murders were grown so frequent, no Man was concerned at the Death of *Amseius*, and several others, under the new Consuls: But the Fate of *Vibienus Agrippa*, a Roman Knight, struck a general Terror, who, after his Accusers had finished their Evidence, poisoned himself, in a full Senate; and falling instantly down, was dragged to Prison, and strangled there, altho' he was actually dead before. The Royal Character (1) did not defend *Tigranes*, once King of *Armenia*; but after a Tryal he was condemned, and suffered the same Punishment with the rest: But *C. Galba*, a Consular Man, and the two *Blasi* voluntarily killed themselves; the first, after he had received Letters from the Emperour, commanding him to forbear drawing

his

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) One Sovereign Prince, who condemns another to death in the ordinary Forms of Justice, teaches his Subjects by this Example, that Princes are subject to the Sentence of Judges; which is a dangerous Stroke at the Prerogative of Majesty, which all Princes ought to preserve Sacred and Inviolable.

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

Here is something wanting.

Those

his Lot<sup>b</sup> for a Province; and the two other, because they were incapacitated to exercise their Priestly Office (2), and the Benefices conferr'd on them in the flourishing Fortunes of their House, dispos'd of to others (3), which they interpreted for a Command to die, and executed it. As for *Emilia Lepida*, who was married to the younger *Drusus*, as I have related in another place<sup>d</sup>, and had fallily accused her Husband of divers Crimes, and had, notwithstanding her Villany, remained unpunished, as long as her Father lived; but after his Death, being accused of Adultery with one of her Slaves, and no one doubting of her Guilt (4), she killed herself, without endeavouring to make a Defence.

XLIII. At

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) When a Favourite is disgraced, he all draws with it abundance of others; for all those, who have a share in his Favour, have likewise a share in the publick Odium.

(2) If the Benefices of Non-Residents, and Persons, who do not perform their Functions, were declared vacant, the King and the Collators would have a great many Places to fill. When Princes will oblige Beneficiaries to reside, it is certain they will be better obey'd than the Coun-

cils. I wish to God, they would undertake a Work, that would redound so much to the Benefit of the Church.

(4) There is no Crime, but the World readily thinks Men guilty of, who have an ill Reputation. I cannot prevail with my self, says the Cardinal d'Osset, to forbear writing to the King my Fears of the Duke of Savoy. I am very sensible with how much Caution we ought to proceed in things of this Nature, and with

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

Those, who had been Consuls, took the Government of the Provinces by Lot.

<sup>c</sup> For *Sacerdotium hoc quoque sacrum plane & insigne est, quod non admittitur virginti. Nam cetera quancquam dignitate propemodum paria ut tribuuntur sic auferuntur in hoc fortune hactenus licet ut dari possit.* Pliny, See Lib. 4. Ep. 8.

<sup>d</sup> This Passage is not to be found in the preceding Books, and may probably have been in the Fifth, for in that are wanting near Three Years of the Reign of *Tiberius*.

It

XLIII. At the same time the *Elite*, a People of *Cilicia*, Subjects of *Archelaus*; took Arms to exempt themselves from paying the *Roman* Tribute; and retreating to the Mountain *Taurus*, defended themselves for some time against the weak Troops of their Prince: But *Tybellenus* arriving, in *Syria*, with Four thousand Men of the Legions, and the Flower of the Confederate Troops, invested them in their Mountains, one of which was called *Cadra*, and the other *Davara*, and defeating them in a Sally, forced some to submit, and the rest, after, by cutting off their Water.

XLIV. *Nicephoria*, *Antemissia*, and divers other Cities, who had *Greek* Names imposed by the *Macedonians*, who founded them, voluntarily received *Tiridates*, in hopes of being treated more favourably, by a Prince bred in the *Roman* Civility (1), than *Artabanus*, whose Cruelty they abhorred. But *Seleucia* surpassed all others in her Flattery (2). This City was founded by

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

with Persons of such a Character; but the Life of the King is of such Consequence, we can never shew too great a Care of it. If the Story of the *Wolffian*, who intended to poison the King, be true, you will find when the Matter shall be searched to the bottom, it will end in *Scurvy*; and whether we find it or not, I beseech you to believe, that as long as that Duke shall keep the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, he will never cease contriving, and plotting the Death of the King; and as we ought not upon slight Grounds to entertain such an Opinion of another, for the same Reason,

the blacker, and more detestable the Crime is; the sooner we ought to believe it of him, who has not his Match in daring Villany. *Letter 224* and 226.

(1) When a People shake off a Yoke, they have always a good Opinion of the Successor: The Pleasure of Revenge makes them charmed with their new Master, they ever looking on him as the Capital Enemy of his Predecessor.

(2) A Republick, who has a powerful Prince for its Neighbour, must Court his Friendship, to preserve their Liberty, especially if the Government

#### HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS:

\* It is probable this was the Son, or Grandson of that *Archelaus*, mentioned in the Second Book of the Annals, after whose Death *Cappadocia* became a *Roman* Province.

† Phi-

*Seleucus*, and preserves still the Marks of its Origine, not being corrupted by the barbarous Customs of the neighbouring People. It is encompass'd with Walls, and very potent. It is governed by a Body of Three hundred Men of the most considerable for their Wealth and Integrity, who form a sort of Senate. The People have a share in the Government; and, when they are united, condemn the Power of *Parthia*: But their Dissentions render them subject to be enslaved by any Prince (3), who comes in to the Aid of the weaker Faction. This was the Case of *Artabanus*, who invested the Government in the Hands of some few of the Great Men, to serve his own Interest (4); a popular Government approaching too much to Liberty, and the Dominion of some few Great Men, resembling more

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

Government be partly Aristocratic, partly Democratical, such as was that of *Seleucia*: For this Form of Government is more subject to Troubles and Revolutions, by Reason of the incurable Antipathy between the Nobility and the People.

(3) A Republick which is shaken by its Civil Dissentions, and Neighbour to a Prince more potent than he self, is ever in danger of that Prince, arming in favour of the one or other of the Factions, which divide her: For if he comes off victorious, Liberty is ever the Reward of his Assistance. *Plutarch* had very good Reason to call this intestine Division, a Conspiracy of the People a-

gainst themselves: And *Machiavel* speaking of the Factions of his Country, and the Dissentions, first between the Nobility, next between the Nobility and the People, and lastly between the People and the Populace; concludes, that nothing shews more the ancient Power of *Florence*, and the Wisdom of its Citizens, that it was never ruined by the Dissentions and Disorders, which would have been capable of destroying any other Commonwealth, though it were still in a more flourishing State. In his Preface to his History of *Florence*.

(4) A Republican Government is always hateful to Kings and Neighbouring Princes, because it gives their

#### HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS:

\* *Philippus Rex Macedonum, libertati omnium insidiatus, dum contentiones civitatum sitit, auxilium inferioribus ferendo, distos pariter victoresque subire regiam servitutem coegit, Justinus. Redditur Rhodis libertas, adempta lege, aut firmata, prout bellis externis meruerit, aut domi seditione deliquerant. Tac. Ann. 12.*

† He

more an Arbitrary Monarchy. *Tiridates*, on the contrary, re-instated the People in the Government, and was received with all Honours of their ancient Kings, together with those which later Ages have added (5); and the City was full of his Panegyrics; and the most bitter Invectives against his Enemies, whom they reproached with *degenerating from the Blood of the Arsacids*, from which he was descended, by the Mother's side. In the mean time, whilst *Tiridates* was debating of a Day for his Coronation (6), he received Letters from *Phraates*, and *Hieron*, intreating him to defer that Ceremony till their Arrival. *Tiridates* was resolv'd to attend their coming, willing to grant the Request of Men, who commanded two of the most considerable Provinces in the Kingdom; and advances to *Ctesiphon*, which is the Capital City of the Kingdom: But they deferring from Day to Day, *Surena* &c. crowned him, according to the Ancient Custom of the Country, with great Applause of all the Spectators.

## XLV. H

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

their Subjects a Prospect of Liberty, which renders their Slavery intolerable, and sometimes affords them a Temptation of being delivered from it.

(5) At this time of day, there is no room to invent any new Flattery: Humane Wit is exhausted upon that Subject; future Ages will be obliged to ours, because the Impossibility of going farther has secured them for incurring an Infamy, which they might have been in danger of, if our Example had not prevented it.

(6) In all Elective Principalities, Coronation is a necessary Ceremony, because it is a Confirmation of the Election, as well in respect of the Persons that have made the Election, as on the part of the People, who by this solemn Action acknowledge the Validity of the Election, as tacitly promise to obey the Person elected. For this Reason the Popes, before the Pontificat of *Nicholas* the Second, were not placed in the List of Popes, if they died before their Consecration; and at present, though the

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

\* He was the Second Person in the Kingdom, and Lieutenant General of the King, who received the Royal Diadem at his Hands.

## HISTO-

XLV. If *Tiridates* had entred, immediately, the Provinces situated in the Heart of the Kingdom, he would have secured the rest, which were dubious and wavering; but amusing himself with the Siege of a Place, where *Artabanus* had lodged his Treasure and Concubines, he gave the contrary Faction Respite to break their Agreements (1): For *Phraates*, *Hieron*, and divers others, who did not assist at his Coronation, either out of Fear, or Jealousie of *Abdageses*, and his Credit, retreated with the young King, into *Hircania*, to *Artabanus*; whom they found in a miserable Poverty, living upon Hunting, after the manner of the Country (2): He was afraid, at first, they were come with an Intent to seize him; but when they had declared their Design, and assured him, they would joyn their Endeavours to restore him, he demanded of them, the Reason of this sudden Change? *Hiero* replied, The *Parthians* could no longer

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

the Court of *Rome* have changed their Method and Doctrine, yet they never use the Formule of *Pontificatus nostri anno* 1. and keep no Consistory, but after their Coronation. In *Poland*, the King Elect, and not Crowned, cannot exercise any Royal Function, bestow any Place or Benefice; the Scepter is not carried before him, his Letters to Foreign Princes signed with the private Arms of his Family, and not of the Kingdom. *Piaſcecki* in his *Chron.* The Case is not the same in Hereditary Principalities, where the Prince always takes Possession of all the Rights of Majesty, from the very Moment of his Succession, inasmuch as the People are presumed to have taken their Oath of Fidelity, and mutually received his in the Person of his Predecessors.

(1) A Prince, who takes Possession of a State, if he have a Competitor, who has a Title as good as

his own, must not lose his time in besieging of Places: For, in case the Fortune of Arms turn against him, he runs a Risque of being abandoned by his own Party, or contemned by his Rival: He must go from Town to Town, from Province to Province, and not suffer the Zeal of his Party to cool: For People naturally run in with the stronger side, as he must justly be esteemed, who has the greatest Number of Towns, or is own'd by the Capital City, whose Example most commonly governs the rest. In this manner *Stephen de Battor* put himself in Possession of the Kingdom of *Poland*, and frustrated the Emperor *Maximilian*, who had been elected by the Archbishop of *Guejne*, and most of the other Bishops. *Piaſcecki* in his *Chronicle*.

(2) A fair Example of the Misery of Princes, forced out of their Dominions. When a Prince, says *Commines*,



longer bear the Youth of a Prince (3), corrupted with the Effeminacy of the Roman Way of Living, who only had the Title of King, while the Power was lodged in another Hand.

XLVI. *Artabanus*, matured by long Experience in the Arts of Government, soon perceived, however false they had been to him before, they were now sincere in their Hatred to *Tiridates*; and to prevent all Repentance, and the Designs of his Enemy, instantly rallies what broken Troops of the *Scythians* he could assemble, and marches with all Diligence; nor did he quit the miserable Equipage he was in, the better to move the Compassion of the *Parthians*: And now he spares no Promises or Intreaties, or any Artifices, to gain over some, and confirm those who were already well affected to him; and he was upon the Frontiers of

*Selen-*

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

*mines*, has lost all, he becomes a Charge to his Friends. In his *Memoirs*, Book 3. Chap. 3. And speaking of the Retreat of *Lewis* the Eleventh, to the Court of the Duke of *Burgundy*, in the Life-time of his Father: He had no Money, says he, but what he could seize by Force, or Borrow, which is a mortal Anguish to a Prince, that is not accustomed to it. He was in the greatest Streights in the House of *Burgundy*, where he was forced to entertain the Prince and his Chief Ministers, to prevent their being tired with him. Book 6. Chap. last.

(3) A vicious Prince is to be preferred to another, who has more Virtues, if he want Ability, or Resolution, to discharge his Office aright. *Philip* the Third, King of *Spain*, was a very Pious and Ghast Prince; but, as he was wholly governed by Favourites, and took little Cognizance of Matters, he had Rea-

son to cry out, when he was dying, He was not afraid to give an Account of the Sins of *Philip*, but of the King. Kings, says *Monsieur de Richelieu*, cannot dispense with their Duty for one Moment, but they must commit greater Sins of Omission, than a private Man can of Commission in their whole Lives. These Faults are of greater Importance, than those of private Men, because they are like Universal Causes, and influence the Disorders in every thing, which is subject to their Motion. Many would be saved as private Persons, who cannot be so as publick Persons. These Words, which are his last Advice in his Testament, merit the most serious Attention of Princes, who have two Persons to save, and two Consciences to discharge: And upon this perhaps it is, that the Fathers have founded their Opinion, that Kings have their Guardian An-

(1) There

*Selenia*, whilst *Tiridates* was debating, whether he should go out and fight him, or protract the War (1). Those who were for making a speedy Decision, alleged, It would be an easie matter to defeat Troops fatigued and harassed with the length of the Marches, who were not yet unanimous in their Obedience, to a Prince whom they had so lately been Traitors and Rebels to. Others, of which Number was *Abdageses* (2), were of Opinion, to pass the River, and regain *Mesopotamia*, where they might raise the People of *Armenia*, and *Elymen*, and secure themselves, till they could joyn the Troops which the Confederates, and the Roman General<sup>h</sup>, should send to their Assistance. The Cowardice of *Tiridates*, and the Authority of *Abdageses*, caused this Advice to be approved of (3). But this Retreat was mistaken for a Flight, by those of their Party, some of which retired to their Houses, and others deserted to *Artabanus*. This Disorder began in the Quarters of the *Arabians*, and soon prevailed through the whole Camp; insomuch, that *Tiridates*

#### POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) There are some Occasions, in which it is better to run the Risque of War, and stand exposed to all the Uncertainty of Events, which perhaps may prove fortunate, than expect an Enemy, whose Condition may be bettered by delaying to fight him. For the rest, it is but just to risque something, when a Crown lies at Stake.

(2) It commonly happens, that Favourites dissuade their Masters from difficult Enterprizes, which endanger their Credit; they seldom

or never failing to discover their Insufficiency. I do not think, says the Cardinal d'Osse, the Spaniards can do us any great Mischief; and whatever Mien they make in Publick, they would be glad in their Hearts, if *Monsieur of Savoy* would accommodate the Difference: And whatever Opinion you have of the Duke of *Lerma*, the more discerning Men think the War is not for his Interest, that he and all his Creatures areaverse to it. Letter 231.

(3) When a Prince has no Courage,

#### HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>h</sup> Probably the Author means *Vitellius*, Governour of *Syria*.

HISTO-



*dates* being obliged for his Safety to retire into Syria, with some few of his Friends, gave leave to the rest to retreat, without the Infamy of deserting an Interest they had engaged themselves to assert.

XLVII. The same Year, the Mount *Aventine*, and part of the *Cirque*, which is contiguous, were consumed by Fire. This Publick Calamity turn'd to the Glory of the Emperour (1), who very liberally gave the Proprietors the Value of their Houses, and Out-Houses. This Largess amounted to a Hundred thousand Great Sesterces<sup>1</sup>, and was more agreeable to the People, in regard he had expended little in private Buildings, and had erected only two Publick Edifices, the Temple of *Augustus* (2), and the Scene of *Pompey's* Theater, which he did not dedicate himself, either prevented by Death, or in Aversion to the Pomp. The Emperour's four Sons-in-Law, *Cneius Domitius*, *Cassius*

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

rage, his Prime Minister ought to supply the Defect, otherwise all Business will fall to the Ground between them. *Antonio Perez* says very pleasantly, the King and his Kingdom are married together, the one is the Husband, and the other the Wife; and a Kingdom is a Widow, when her King is impotent.

(1) Princes have a Prerogative of commanding the Love of the People, whenever they please. A wise King, said *Henry* the Great, like a skilful Apothecary, converts the most dangerous Poison into an Antidote, and makes his Treacle of the most venomous part of the Viper. Re-

mains of *Henry the Fourth*. The *Don Pedro*, King of *Portugal*, was very severe, and inexorable, yet he was passionately beloved by his Subjects, because his Liberality equalled his Rigor, laying this down as a Maxim; *That Man does not deserve the Name of a King, who does not every Day do some good Act*. *Mariana*, a Portuguese Historian tells us, That when his Servants dressed him, he commanded them to leave his Robes loose, that he might extend his Hand.

(2) When Princes build Churches and other Religious Houses, it is often out of a Principle of Vanity, to per-

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>1</sup> Near Seven hundred and fifty thousand Pound Sterling.

HISTO-

*Cassius Longinus*, *Marcus Vinicius*, and *Rubellius Plautus*, had Orders to see the Damage repaired, and *Caius Petronius*, was joyn'd in Commission with them, by the Consuls, to make an Estimation of the Loss each Man sustained. The Senate enacted new Honours to the Emperour, each Man endeavouring to outvy his Neighbour; but which he accepted, and which he rejected, is not known, by reason of his Death, which soon followed.

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

perpetuate their Memory under the Colour of doing Honour to God. People are more careful in the Preservation of Churches, than profane Buildings. The worst Tyrants are the Men, who have built the most magnificent Churches; such as *Justinian*, who filled *Greece* and *Asia*,

after he had ruined and plundered all the Provinces of the Empire; and *John Galeas*, Duke of *Milan*, Founder of the *Carthusian* Monastery, in *Padua*; the finest of that kind in Christendom. *Spanish Communes*, Chap. 109, and 152.

P

THE

## THE

## Year of ROME, 790.

XLVIII. **W**E enter now on the Consulate of *Cneius Acerronius*, and *Caius Pontius*, which is the last of *Tiberius*, in which the Power of *Macro* increased infinitely. This ambitious Spirit left no means untried, to insinuate himself further into the Favour of *Caligula* (1), engaging his Wife <sup>a</sup> after the Death of *Clandia* <sup>b</sup>, to care for the young Prince (2), and get

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) The most certain way to gain the Favour of a Prince, is to court their Friendship in their private Fortune, when the time of their Reign is uncertain.

(2) We may very well say, of all Sacred Institutions, that of Marriage is the most profaned. We see Men every day marrying pretty Women, the better to make their Fortune, by prostituting them to Great Men. The general Cry is against the Debauchery of Women; but it ought rather to be turned against those scandalous Husbands, who consent to their Wickedness, in hopes of making their Fortunes at the Expence of their Honour; and, which is still

worse, to the great Contempt of the publick Honour, and of all the Laws of God and Man. *Sixtus Quintus* used to say, *There was nothing more unnatural, or in which Men resembled Dogs, than in making a Truffick of their Wives*. And he made very good Orders in the beginning of his Pontificate, in this Matter, commanding that all Persons, who should voluntarily prostitute their Wives, should be punished with Death, without Mercy; and in case others could not themselves remedy the ill Lives of their Wives, they should complain to the Pope, under Pain of being punished, as if they had consented to their Debauchery. *Leti, Life of Sixtus Quintus*,

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>a</sup> *Ennia*, says *Suetonius*, was corrupted by *Caligula*, with Promise of Marriage under his Hand. *Enniam Neviā, Macrois uxorem, sollicitavit ad stuprum, pollicitus & matrimonium suum, si potitus imperio fuisset: de qua ea re & jurejurando & chiographo cavuit. In Caligula.*

<sup>b</sup> Who died in Child-bed. *Suetonius in Caligula.*

Li.

get a Promise of Marriage (3) from him; which *Caligula*, who refused nothing, in hopes of obtaining the Empire, consented to; he who naturally was of a violent Temper, had perfectly well learn'd the Art of Dissembling, under the Discipline of his Grand-Father.

XLIX. *Tiberius* saw how Things went, and projected in his Mind, how to Revenge himself, and substitute the Son of *Drusus* in the room of *Caligula*, who was nearer in Blood, and more in his Favour; but his Under-Age was a great Obstacle; whereas, *Caligula* was in the Vigour of his Youth, and had gained the Affection of the People; Causes enough to render him distasteful to his Grand-Father. He proposed *Claudius*, likewise, who was of a competent Age, and a good Disposition; but the Weakness of his Parts, and Incapacity for Matters of Government, hindered his Election

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

Part 2. Book 1. The King of Portugal, *Don Pedro*, surnamed of Justice, rigorously punished all Adulterers: And caused a Servant to be castrated for his too great Familiarity with a Judge's Wife. At another time, he burnt a Merchant's Ship at Lisbon and cut off the Head of her Spark. And had he not sullied his Glory, by being guilty of the same Crime, with *Eleonora de Mello*, Wife of *Laurence Vasquez*, who to reproach him, wore a Silver Pair of Horns in his Harband, History could not have contested him the glorious Title of *Pedro the Just*. *Mariana's History, Book 17. Chap. 9.*

(3) Princes readily promise Marriage to young Women, whom they intend to debauch, for they know no body can compel them to keep their Word. But as the Spanish *Commines* well observes, upon occasion of *Edward the Fourth of England*, such jesting is dangerous; for *Richard*, Duke of Gloucester, took occasion from hence to strangle his Brother's two Sons, and declare his Daughters Bastards, under pretence that *Edward* had married their Mother, whilst he actually had another Wife, whom the Bishop of Bath did aver to be privately married to him. The Pretensions of the late Duke of

Mon-

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>a</sup> *Liberos Germanici circumveniebat, quo nepotem suum ex Druso filium naturalē ad successionem imperii confirmaret. Suetonius in Tiberio. Anxiō de successore Tiberio, & in verum nepotem prioris. In Caligula.*

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<sup>a</sup> This

tion (1). If he should choose for his Successor, one, not of the Imperial House, he apprehended, the Roman People might offer some Outrage to the Name of Caesar, and the Memory of Augustus. In this uncertainty, his Strength still declining, he committed the Matter to Destiny, after he had given Marks, that he foresaw what the Event would prove; often reproaching Macro, That he left the Setting Sun, to adore the Rising (2). And upon occasion of some Discourse, Caligula laughing at the Dictator Sylla, he told him, He should have all his Vices, without any one of his Virtues: Then embracing, with Tears, the Son of Drusus<sup>d</sup>, and spying

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

Monmouth were founded on a like Pretext. These Promises are ever attended with some unhappy Consequences, either to the State, or the Prince: The State is troubled with a Civil War; or the Prince, who fails in observing his Word, exposed to Conspiracies, which he may sometimes find difficult to escape. Such was that of the Marquis de Verneuil, and the Count d' Auvergne, which would have embroil'd all France, if it had taken effect.

(1) A stupid Prince is the greatest Scourge God can inflict on a People: For such a Prince always lodges his Power in the Hands of another, whom he ought ever to be jealous of. The Sequel shews, Tiberius had made a true Judgment of Claudius, who was the Slave of his Mistresses and Servants, whilst himself was upon the Throne. It is not enough for a Prince, to have good Inclinations, but he must make good use of them. Philip the Third, King of Spain,

was endued with all the Virtues of a private Person; but his Reign was a Reign of Favourites, who were all Masters, which confirmed the Character given him by his Preceptor Garcia de Loaisa, afterwards Archbishop of Toledo, when he told Philip the Second, that the Prince of Spain had not Genius, or Vigour enough, to govern so vast a Monarchy.

(2) It is fatal to Princes to see their Authority die before them. Since it is not their Person whom the World adores, but their Fortune; all Men abandon them when their Death approaches. For, says Commines, most Men serve more in hopes of receiving future Benefits, than in Gratitude for past. We must not be surprized, if Princes are careful to conceal their decaying Condition, which transfers all the Adoration paid them to their Successor, and in effect seems to degrade, and reduce them to the Condition of private Men.

(3) Princes

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

<sup>d</sup> This was Tiberius the Twin, Son of his Son Drusus, whom Caligula put to Death, for taking a Counter-poison.

His

ing Caligula, looking fullenly on him, Ay, says he, you shall murder this pretty Youth, and another shall do you the same Turn (3). Notwithstanding his Health declined, he did not retrench any part of his scandalous Debauches, suffering the Distemper with more (4) Patience, to impose on the World, an Opinion of his Vigour: Not to mention his Neglect of the Rules of Medicine (5), and the Contempt he used to express of such, who, after thirty Years of Age, had need of one to Govern their Health.

L. On the other hand, they projected at Rome those Murders which should be executed after the Death of Tiber-

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(3) Princes, who shed the Royal Blood, almost ever die a violent Death. Henry the Fourth would not permit a Process to be made against the Count d' Auvergne, though he was guilty of the blackest Treason, for this Reason only, that he was the Natural Son to Charles the Eleventh. A great Example of the Respects due to the Blood of Kings.

(4) Divers Princes hasten their Death by concealing their Maladies. Ferdinand the Catholick went half dead through all the Cities of Castille, to persuade the People he was cured of a Distemper, he expected would have killed him about a Month before. Sixtus Quintus fell grievously ill in the Third Year of his Pontificat, and suspended the dispensing the Holy Sacrament, and all Publick Prayers, made at Rome for the restoring his Health, saying to the Cardinal Montalto: My Nephew's Prayers will make the People believe, that I am dead while I am living; but it is my Intention to make them believe, I am living when I am dead. G. Leti in his Life, Part 2. Book. 3.

(5) We must make a great Distinction between the Art of Physick, and

its Professors. Physicians may be despised for their Ignorance, but God has instituted the Science, for the Preservation of Human Bodies. *Altissimus creavit Medicamenta*. Princes must not be Slaves to Physicians, as Lewis the Eleventh, enduring any Insolence, for fear of Death; but the other Extream, of doing nothing according to direction, is more a Folly than true Courage. Commines tells us, That Charles the Eighth had Four good Physicians, but hearkned only to the least Skilful, to whom he gave so great Authority, that the rest did not dare to speak, who otherwise would have purged him four Days sooner; foreseeing he was in danger of Death, as after happened. In the last Chapter of his Memoirs. An Example, which shews us, what Mistchiefs Princes expose themselves to by their Indolency. For the rest, we observe Princes, who have lived longest, are those, who have been least accustomed to use Medicines. The Grand Master Cardinal d' Aubusson, and Pope Paul the Fourth, who never used any, lived both above Four-score Years.

*Tiberius* : *Lelius Balbus*, who had procured *Acutia*, Widow of *P. Vitellius*, to be condemned for High-Treason, now procured *Junius Orho*, Tribune of the People, to be banished, conceiving an implacable Hatred, for opposing the Recompence which the Senate intended to decree him. Some time after, *Albucella*, famous for the multitude of her Sparks, and her Marriage with *Latrius Secundus*, the Discoverer of *Sejanus's* Plot, was accused of disloyal Practices; and three Senators, *Cneius Domitius*, *Vibius Martius*, and *Lucius Arruntius*, were accused as her Accomplices and Adulterers. I have already spoken of the Nobility of the first; the second was illustrious for the ancient Honours of his Family, and eminent for his Learning; but no Complaint of the Emperour appearing against them, and the profess'd Hatred of *Arruntius* and *Macro*, being well known, the Senate thought the Accusation was set on foot, during the Emperour's Illness, and without his Privy (1); especially since the Minutes did contain, that *Macro* presided, when the Slaves were put to the Question, and the Depositions given in.

LI. *Domitius*, and *Marfus*, escaped; the one, under pretext of having Time allowed him to make his Defence; and the other, pretending to die of Hunger: But *Arruntius*, when his Friends urged him to wait,

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) The Hatred of Favourites is a hundred times more dangerous than that of Princes. Princes proceed in the ordinary Forms of Justice, but Favourites, who have weak Masters, use a thousand secret Means, against which it is impossible to stand upon a Guard. *Don Alvarez de Luna*, under *John* the Second, King of *Castille*; and the Duke of *Lerma*, and *Don Rodrigo de Calderon*, under *Philip*

the Third, King of *Spain*; the Cardinal Chancellor *du Prat*, under *Francis* the First; the Duke of *Espernon*, under *Henry* the Third, King of *France*; and the Marechal *d'Ancre* under the Regence of *Mary de Medicis*; and History furnishes us with a Thousand Examples of Injustice and Abuses, which Favourites commit, when the Prince leaves the Helm.

(1) It

wait, and do nothing rashly, replied, That all Things were not alike becoming all Persons: That for his part, he had lived long enough (1), and was weary of prolonging a tedious Old Age, incumbered with Infirmities, in perverse and wicked Times, expos'd to the Hatred of Favourites; one while persecuted by *Sejanus*, then by *Macro*, for no other Reason (2), than opposing their Cruelty and Injustice: That he might escape the Hands of *Tiberius*, who had but a short time to live; but who could escape falling into the Hands of his young Successor? That if *Tiberius*, after a long Experience, had suffered himself to be corrupted by his Prosperity, what

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) It is more eligible to an honest Man, who is in Authority, to die in the Vigour of his Age, than live under the hard Necessity of complying with Ministers and Favourites, who seditiously abuse the Favour of their Prince. The Chancellor *Olivier*, whom *Monsieur de Thou* commends, for having never given any unjust or servile Advice, preferred losing the Seals, and leaving the Court, than accommodate himself to the Passions of the *Duchess de Valentinois*, Mistress of *Henry* the Second. *Francis* the Second recalled him to Court, restored the Seals to him; but the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, his Prime Minister, endeavoured to make him the Slave of his Pleasures: These are the very Words of *Monsieur de Thou*, he abandoned himself so much to grief, that he died of it: And the Cardinal visiting him in his Malady, he reproached him, telling him, all his Regret was, that he had not opposed with Vigour enough the Violences committed by those, who were entrusted with the Government. *Thuan. Lib. 23. c. 25.* *Don Juan de Vega* had just Reason to esteem himself the most fortunate Courtier of his time, in having obtained the Post of President of *Castille*, (which is properly Chancellor of *Spain*) without

Application to the Prince, King *Gomez de Sylva*, the most powerful Favourite of *Philip* the Second.

(2) Favourites hate Men, who are indifferent, almost as much as those, who have offended them. Princes and Ministers of State are for the most part of the Humour of *Lewis* the Eleventh, who as *Commynes* informs us, was an Enemy to all Great Men, who could live without dependence on him. The Cardinal *d'Ossat* never gave *Monsieur de Rosny*, Superintendent of the Finances, any occasion of disgust, and yet he was never beloved by that Minister, who, not considering that he was the most faithful and useful Servant that *Henry* the Fourth had in *Italy*, and had no Paternal Estate, took Pleasure to make him wait the Payment of a Pension of Four Thousand Crowns, which the King had allowed him to assist him, in keeping up the Dignity of the Cardinalat: By which, says he, in a Letter to *Monsieur de Villeroy*, I am afraid to be condemned to a perpetual and shameful Poverty. *Letter 269 & 320.* where he adds, That *Monsieur de Rosny* had not vouchsafed to answer a Letter he had writ to him on that Subject; which shew'd us, that the best Ministers sometimes prefer a trifling

P 4

Point

what would become of Caligula, bred in the School of Vice (3), under the Tuition of Macro, who being the greater Villain, was chose to suppress Sejanus, and had already done more Mischief to the Common-wealth, than his Predecessor? That he clearly saw from time to time, their Slavery would grow more intolerable: That he would, once for all, deliver himself from his Resentments of the past, and his Apprehensions of the future Calamity (4). Predicting the dismal Times which followed with as much Exactness, as if he had lived to see them; after which, he cut his Arteries, and died, the Event justifying his Resolution.

LII. A.

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

Point of Honour, to the Honour and Interest of their Prince and the State. All the Reason of this, was, that the Cardinal owed his Fortune to Monsieur de Villeroy, and paid his Devoirs more to him, than Monsieur de Rosny, which obliged him to the greater Acknowledgment; as, likewise did the Relation of his Ministry to that of Secretary of State, whose Office it was to answer the Dispatches.

(3) It is not enough that a Prince is born of good Parents, such as Caligula's were: It is Education, not Birth, that produces Virtues and Vices. As good Land which lies uncultivated produces Brakes and Thistles: Vice and ill Habits soon take root in the best natural Dispositions, if Art do not come to the Assistance of Nature. What good Hopes can we conceive of a Prince, who as soon as he is out of his Cradle, is bred amongst foolish Women, (they are the Words of Erasmus) who passes his Youth amongst Whores, Parasites, Buffoons, Players, Fops, Coxcombs, and Rascals, from whom he learns nothing but Baseness, who only inspire him with Love of Pleasure, Pride, Arrogance, Avarice, Revenge, Tyranny? In short, What will such a Prince be capable of, who

from such a School, shall be called to the Government of a Kingdom? In his Institution of a Prince.

(4) Prognosticks made by Persons, who have spent their Lives in publick Business, ought to be regarded as so many Admonitions, which Divine Providence gives People, and their Governours, to provide Remedies, to prevent the impending Evils, or dispose them to Repentance. Fryar Jerome, says *Commynes*, was always assuring them of the coming of Charles the Eighth, saying, That he was sent by God, to chastise the Tyrants of Italy: He likewise told them, that he should come to Pisa, and that Day the State of Florence should perish; which happened, for Peter de Medicis was forced away the very same Day. . . . He told me, That God had pronounced Sentence against the King, for not discharging his Duty in reforming the Church as he ought, and suffering his Men to plunder the People, as well those who submitted to him without Compulsion, as his Enemies. In his *Memoirs*, Book 8. Chap. 2. No one ought to admire that I place this Religieux in the Rank of publick Magistrates, for although he was not so, yet he had a Share in the Government, nothing being done without his Advice.

(1) Good

LII. Albucilla had attempted to make herself away, but the Wound being slight, she was immediately dragg'd to Execution, and Gracianus Sacerdos, a Prætorian, one of her Men of Pleasure, banished; and another, Pontius Fregellanus, expelled the Senate. Lelius Balbus suffered the same Disgrace, to the great Content of all Honest Men, for his pernicious Eloquence, which he ever employed against Innocent Men.

LIII. About the same time, Sextus Papinius, a Man of a Consular-Family, chose a strange kind of Death, leaping from a great Precipice. The Cause of his Despair, was imputed to his Mother; who, after several Denials, had, by her Caresses, and Profusions, plunged him in Inconveniences, which he could not escape but by Death. As for her, she was brought before the Senate, where, after she had endeavoured to move their Commiseration, on a Mother that was thus unfortunately lost, and shed abundance of Tears, she was banished the space of Ten Years, 'till her younger Son should be past his Age of Pleasure.

LIV. Tiberius's Body began to decay, and his strength decline, but his Dissimulation was as strong as ever (1); he kept his ordinary Gravity in his Countenance and Speech, and sometimes with a Smile, or an affected Jest, studied to conceal his Faintness, which did too visibly appear. After he had long dissembled his Distemper, and removed from Place to Place, he was obliged to stop at the Cape of Misena, in a Villa which formerly belonged to Lucullus, where they found his End was approaching, by this Artifice.: There was a famous Physician, by Name Charicles, who was not his ordinary Physician, but called in to some Consultations

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(1) Good Princes, hide their Maladies out of Fear of grieving their Subjects, and Tyrants out of Fear of rejoicing them.

(2) Con-

tions during his Malady; who desiring his Liberty, to follow his extraordinary Occasions, whilst he was at Table, took his Hand to kiss it, but with Intention to feel his Pulse. This he could not do so dextrously, but *Tiberius* soon perceived it; who either not offended, or, perhaps, the better to conceal his Resentment, ordered the Table to be covered, where he sate longer than ordinary, to Regale his departing Friend. In the mean time, *Charicles* assured *Macro*, he could not continue above two Days, his Pulse being much abated. Upon this, those who were present, held secret Conferences (2), and dispatched Couriers to the Generals of the Armies: The Sixteenth of *March* every one thought he expired, and *Caligula*, surrounded with a great Number of People, who congratulated his new Dignity, began to shew himself in Publick, and act as Emperour, when on a sudden News was brought, that *Tiberius* had recovered his Sight and Voice, and commanded his Servants to bring him something to eat. Every Man disperfed instantly, and *Caligula* fallen from his great Hopes (3), expected nothing but Death. But *Macro*, without discovering the least Surprise,

com-

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

(2) Conferences about managing the Affairs of a State after the Death of a Prince, ought not to be held but upon a certainty that his End is near; for a Prince will look on the Authors of these Clandestine Meetings, as Persons who desire his Death. The Plots in Favour of the Queen and *Monseigneur* all vanished, says *Monseigneur* the Duke of *Rochefort*, when the King began to recover, which made them fear he should have their Practices discovered to him, and make a Crime of their Projects to establish their Authority after his Death. The next

Day, says *Monseigneur de la Chastre*, the King was better, and in the Evening resolved to hold a Council, which he told the Queen, and obliged her to leave the Room, which she took as a new Affront from the two Ministers, who were so much animated with this Interval, that their Party declared, if the King recovered, they were assured of the Ruin of all those who had declared for the Queen, against them. *Memoirs of the Minority of Lewis the Fourteenth.*

(3) Ambitious Spirits cannot bear the Retarding their Hopes, whether

commands all the Company to retire, and instantly stifled the old Emperour, by overwhelming him with the Coverlet of his Bed (4). Thus died *Tiberius* in the Threescore and eighteenth Year of his Age.

LV. His Father was *Nero*, descended of the *Claudii*, by both Parents, tho' his Mother, by divers Adoptions had passed both into the *Livian* and *Julian* Family. His Life had been full of Traverses (1), from his Infancy; his Father took him with him in his Exile<sup>f</sup>, whilst he was very young; and after, when he was inserted into the House of *Augustus*, by the Marriage of his Mother with that Prince, he had many Rivals to contend with; first in the Life-time of *Marcellus* and *Agrippa*, and after of *Caius* and *Lucius*, the Sons of the latter. His Brother *Drusus* was more in the Affection of the People, and the Leudness of his Wife created him a great deal of Disturbance and Disquiet, which he could neither con-

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

they have conceived them justly or unjustly.

(2) Princes often die by the Hands of those very Men on whom they have bestowed the largest Obligations. The last Duke of *Burgundy* was sold to the Duke of *Lorraine*, by the Count de *Campobasse*, who owed his Fortune to him; and *Nicolas Bourbon*, Bishop of *Liege*, was killed by *William de la Marche*, his Domestick and Confident. *Commines Memoirs.* Monsieur the Cardinal de

*Richelieu* says, those Men are ever the most ungrateful who Merit least the Benefits they conferred on them; it being a most certain Truth, that those Qualities which render Men deserving, dispose them most to make their Acknowledgments. In his *Politick Testament*, P. Ch. 7.

(1) Adversity and Opposition are the Schools to Form Great Men. *Commines* tells us, the Labour and Pains which *Lewis* the Eleventh sustained, during his Six Years Retreat in

## HISTORICAL OBSERVATIONS.

His Father was so zealous an Asserter of the Liberties of *Rome*, that he ventured to propose a Reward to be given to those, who assassinated *Julius Caesar*, who had made him his Admiral in the *Alexandrian* War, and after had conferred on him the Dignity of *Pontiff*.

By *Augustus*, with whom he after made his Peace, by giving up his Wife *Livia Drusilla* into his Arms.

connive at, nor dispense with (2). At his Return from *Rhodes*, he found himself sole Heir of the Empire, and chief of the Imperial Family, for the space of twelve Years, and afterwards reigned near Twenty-three. His Conduct was as different as the various Conditions of his Life: He had a very good Character in his private Station, or whilst he commanded under *Augustus*. He shewed his Address, in concealing his Vices, and making ostentation of his Virtues, whilst *Germanicus* and *Drusus* were alive: After, he continued a Mixture of Good and Bad, until the Death of his Mother: Whilst he loved, or stood in fear of *Sejanus*, he practised his Cruelty openly, concealing his Debauches from Publick View; but after the Death of that Minister, void of all Sense of Fear (3) or Shame, he abandoned himself to all manner of Leudness and Crimes, following his Inclinations without any Restraint.

## POLITICAL REMARKS.

in the Court of the Duke of *Burgundy*, was very useful to him after. For, says he, during this Time, he was constrained to comply with the Humours of those Men whom he had occasion to make use of, which was an Advantage which he derived from Adversity. In his *Memoirs*, L. 1. Ch. 10.

(2) There is no Condition worse, than that of a Great Man, who having married his Prince's Daughter, is in danger to ruine his Fortune, if he complain of the Debauches of his Wife, or his Reputation, if he endureth them quietly: But, 'tis true, the Corruption of the Age hath remov'd that Trouble; for now Great Men sacrifice all to Fortune, *Corrumpere & corrumpi seculum vocatur*.

(3) To have nothing to fear, nor no Body to regard, is the strongest,

and therefore most dangerous Temptation that can happen to a Prince, who is not vertuous beyond Corruption. *Lewis* the Eleventh never was a good Prince, nor near it; but when he saw himself deliver'd from the Constable *de St. Paul*, and the Duke of *Burgundy*, he traml'd on his Subjects the more unmercifully, because he thought that no body for the future, either of his own Subjects, or his Neighbour's, would be able to contradict him. They are the Words of *Commynes*, Chap. 12. Book 5. of his *Memoirs*. The Picture which *Tacitus* hath drawn here of *Tiberius*, serv'd for a Pattern to that which *Onufius Pauvini* hath left us of Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth. His Manners, saith he, chang'd as the Times; whilst he was a private Man, or in Office, under his Predecessors, his

Life was blameless, and his Reputation good, when Pope; he govern'd himself with all the Prudence and Moderation, becoming a Sovereign Pontiff, whilst the Council of *Trent* was open; but having put an end to that Council, which was a trouble-

some Curb upon him, because there several Princes importunately solicited a Reformation of the Court of *Rome*, he gratified his natural Inclinations in many things not allowable.

THE

T H E  
A N N A L S  
O F  
CORNELIUS TACITUS.

The Eleventh Book.

By WILLIAM HART, Esq;

1. **F**OR the believing that *Valerius Asiaticus*, now second time Consul, had formerly been *Poppæus's* Adulterer, and withal having a mighty mind to the Gardens which *Lucullus* began, and he had been at a vast Expence to finish, put *Suilius* upon accusing 'em both. *Sosibius*, *Britannicus's* Governor, engag'd in the Affair; who, under colour of Affection, was to insinuate to *Claudius*, *How uneasy mony'd Men made Princes: That Asiaticus, who had the greatest hand in killing \* Cæsar, had the* \* Caligula, *Presumption to own it in a full Assembly of the People, and challenge the Glory of so vile an Act: That this had gain'd him a Reputation in the City: And the Report of his going to Command the Army in Germany, had run all over the Provinces: That, being born at Vienna, and* sup-



supported by many rich and powerful Relations, he had it in his power to make his Country-men revolt. Claudius, enquiring no farther into the Matter, dispatches away Crispinus, Captain of his Guards, with a light, flying Party, as if it had been to suppress some Infurrection: Who, finding him at Baia, seiz'd him, and brought him away in Irons.

2. Nor cou'd he obtain the favour of being heard before the Senate, but was examin'd privately in the Emperor's Bed-chamber, while Messalina was by: Where Suilius accus'd him of Corrupting and Debauching the Army, to commit whatever Ills he shou'd put 'em upon: Then of being Poppæas's Adulterer: And, last of all, of Prostituting his own Body. At which he cou'd hold no longer, but cry'd, Ask your Sons, Suilius; they'll own to you, I'm a Man. The Emperor was mov'd at the Defence he made for himself, which drew Tears too from Messalina's Eyes; who, as she left the Room, to dry 'em, whisper'd Vitellius to be sure not to let the Prisoner escape. While she hastens Poppæa's Death, by threatening Fellows with a Jayl, if they did not swear against her, which made her lay violent hands upon herself; and Caesar knew so little of it, that he ask'd her Husband Scipio, one day as he was at Table with him, Why he came without his Wife? who answer'd, She was dead.

3. But while 'twas debated whether Asiaticus shou'd be acquitted or no; Vitellius, with Tears in his Eyes, reflecting upon the Friendship contracted betwixt 'em ever since they were Fellow-servants in Antonia the Prince's Mother's Family, and falling upon the good Services he had done the Common-wealth, especially in his late Expedition into Britain, and urging whatever he thought might move the Emperor to shew him Mercy, left it to him to chuse what Death he pleas'd; which Favour the Emperor confirm'd. Some of his Friends advis'd him to starve himself; but he told 'em, He scorn'd such a Favour; and, after having done as he us'd to do, Bath'd himself, and Supp'd merrily, where he said, 'Twon'd have look'd with a better

Grain

Grace, if he had dy'd by Tyberius Cunning, or C. Caesar's Tyranny, than by a Woman's Treachery, or Vitellius's prostituted Mouth: He ripp'd up his Veins, having first seen the Pile his Body was to be burnt upon, and order'd it to be remov'd, That the Smoke might not hurt the Shadiness of the Walks. So little concern did he shew even at the Point of Death.

4. After this the Senate was assembled, and Suilius proceeded to accuse two Illustrious Roman Knights, Sir-nam'd Petra. The Crime objected against 'em was, That they lent their House to Mnestor and Poppæa to meet at. A Dream too was laid to one of their charge, as if he had seen Claudius with a Chaplet made of the Ears of Corn, but the Beards revers'd, which was said to portend a Dearth of Grain: Others, that it was made of Vine-leaves, of a palish Colour; and signify'd the Prince wou'd die at the Verge of Autumn. This is certain, Both of 'em were put to death for a Dream, let it be what it will. 1500000 Sesterces with the Pretorial Ensigns\*, by Decree of the Senate, were given to Crispinus. Vitellius added a Million to Sossius, because he was Britannicus's Governor and Privy-counsellor to Claudius. Scipio, being ask'd his Opinion in the Senate, said, Since my Sentiments of Poppæa's Crimes are the same with every-bodies, do me the Justice to think I say the same as Every-body does. Which shew'd an excellent Temper betwixt the Love he bore to his Wife, and the Necessity of Complying with the Senate.

\* A Spear and a Sword.

5. From that time Suilius turn'd common Informer, and prosecuted Every-body with utmost rigour, as did several others who wou'd not be out-done by him in Impudence. For the Prince, taking upon himself the Execution of all Laws and Offices, made way for the Corruption that ensu'd, infomuch that nothing was more expos'd to sale than the Chicane of the Gown. Which made Samius, a Noble Roman Knight, having given Suilius 400000 Sesterces for a Fee, and finding that

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that

that he prevaricated with him, go home to his House, and there kill himself. Upon C. Silius, then Consul Elect, (of whose Power and Death I shall speak hereafter) making a Motion, the Senate agree with him, that the *Cincian Law* shou'd be reviv'd, by which 'twas enacted, *That no Man shou'd take any Mony or Bribe for Pleading.*

6. While they, at whom this Vote was levell'd, were squabbling in the House, Silius, who never agreed with Suilius, fell severely upon him, Urging *Examples of Orators in former days, who thought Reputation with Posterity the noblest Reward for their Eloquence: Besides, such poor Mechanick Ways disgrac'd the Queen of Arts: nor cou'd it be suppos'd but that a Man's Integrity might sometimes be shaken when filthy Lucre came in competition with it: If Causes were to be pleaded without Fees, there wou'd be fewer: Now Discord amongst Neighbours, Accusations, Assaults and Hatred, are cherish'd and fomented; and Lawyers get Estates by the Multitude of Causes, as Physicians do by the Raging of Distempers: Let 'em remember how C. Asinius and Messala of old, and Arruntius and Eserninus of late days, rose to all the Honours of the Gown by their good Life and uncorrupt Eloquence.* Upon this Speech of the Consul Elect, and the Senates agreeing with it, an Act was order'd to be made to convict 'em of Extortion. When Suilius and Cossutianus and others, who saw they were not to be Try'd, but Punish'd, (the Crime having been already prov'd against 'em) got round the Prince, and begg'd pardon for what they had formerly done in this kind, and, when he had given his consent by a Nod, they thus began:

7. *Who had that good Opinion of himself as to presume his Reputation wou'd last to Eternity? Fine Speaking is a Talent to be us'd in the Commerce and Affairs of Life, that the Great, for want of Lawyers, might not Insult and Oppress the Lesser. Nor is Eloquence acquir'd so cheaply; for Men neglected their own Private Concerns to attend those of other People.*

*People. Some follow the War, but 'tis in hopes to make their Fortune by it: Others spent their Time in Cultivating and Improving their Lands; so that we desire nothing but upon the prospect of Profit we hope to reap from it. Asinius and Messala, who feather'd their Nest well in the Civil Wars 'twixt Antony and Augustus, and Eserninus and Arruntius, Heirs to vast Patrimonial Lands, may talk generously; but every body knew that Precedents were at hand; what great Fees P. Clodius or C. Curio took for Pleading: As for them, they did not pretend to much, nor thought of any other Profit than what might accrue to 'em by the Quiet and Peace the Common-wealth enjoy'd: The very People had it in their Heads to better their Condition; but if the Profits of our Studies were taken away, Arts themselves wou'd be lost by degrees. The Prince, thinking there was some Reason in what they said, regulated their Fees to 10000 Sesterces, and those who took more shou'd be adjudg'd guilty of Extortion.*

8. About that time Mithridates, (who, as I said before, had been King of Armenia, and brought to Caesar) upon Claudius's advice, return'd to his Kingdom, depending upon Pharasmanes's Power to support him. He, who was King of Iberia, and Mithridates Brother, gave him advice, *That the Parthians fell out amongst themselves, and, while the Crown was in danger, Affairs of lesser consequence were not minded. For, being no longer able to bear Gotarzes Tyranny, (who was contriving to put his Brother Artabanus, his Wife and Son to Death, which struck a terror into the rest) they call'd in Bardanes, who was always ready to enterprize any great Action, in two days time march'd 3000 Stadia, and drove Gotarzes, who was frightened and knew nothing of the matter, out of his Kingdom, and immediately made himself Master of the adjacent Provinces, finding none but the Seleucians, who refus'd to own him; against whom he march'd, more incens'd with Rage than the present posture of his Affairs requir'd,*  
Q2 because

because they had revolted against his Father, and late down before a Town strongly situated, defended by a River, and a strong Wall, and besides provided with every thing necessary for a Siege. In the mean while *Gotarzes*, reinforced by Troops from *Daba* and *Hyrkania*, renews the War, and *Bardanes*, forc'd for the present to quit the Siege of *Seleucia*, Marches and Encamps upon the Plains of *Bactria*.

9. Whil'st the Affairs of the East were in this distracted and uncertain Posture, *Mithridates* had an opportunity of making himself Master of *Armenia*, who employ'd the *Roman* Troops in besieging the Strongholds, while the *Iberians* ravag'd the Country. Nor did the *Armenians* make any resistance, after their Commander *Demonax*, who began the Fight, ran away. *Cotys*, King of the lesser *Armenia*, hindred his progress for a time, some of the leading Men having gone over to the other side. But he was kept within his Duty, by the Letters *Cæsar* sent him; and every thing seem'd to favour *Mithridates*, now grown more bloody than he ought to be in a Kingdom newly conquer'd. But while the *Parthian* Kings were preparing for Battle, a Conspiracy was discovered, carry'd on by their own People, which induc'd 'em to enter into a Confederacy, which they did by joining Hands, and swore at the Altars of their Gods, to revenge the Treachery of their Enemies, and have a Reciprocal Regard and Respect for one another. *Bardanes* was thought most proper to keep possession of the Kingdom, whil'st *Gotarzes*, that he might give no jealousy, retir'd to the furthest part of *Hircania*. Upon *Bardanes*'s return, *Seleucia* surrendred, after having held out seven Years, not without disgrace to the *Parthians*, whom one City had so long eluded.

10. After this he enters the Provinces that were most fortify'd, and proceeded to recover *Armenia*, if he had not been stopp'd by *Vibius Marsus*, Lieutenant of *Syria*,

*Syria*, who threatned to declare War against him. In the mean while *Gotarzes*, repenting of his Abdication, and, being recall'd by the Nobility, (who are more Slaves in time of Peace than War) gets what Troops he cou'd together, while *Bardanes* marches and meets him at the River *Erins*; the Passage was warmly disputed, till at length *Bardanes* got the better, who push'd his good Fortune to that degree, that he conquer'd all those Countries that lye betwixt that River and *Gindes*, which divides the *Dahi* from the *Arii*. There his good Fortune halted; for the *Parthians*, tho' Victors, refus'd to make War so far from their own Country. Stately Monuments were erected at a vast expence; and, having never heard that any Tribute was paid by these People to any of the *Arsacide*, marches back, big with Pride, and more Intolerable to his Subjects than ever; who, having laid their Design beforehand, surpriz'd him as he was a hunting, and keen after the sport, knock'd him o' th' Head, in the Bloom of his Youth, and in greater Reputation than any of his Ancestors, had he endeavour'd to make himself belov'd by his Subjects; as he did to be fear'd by his Enemies. *Bardanes*'s Death put the Kingdom into a Combustion, being unresolv'd to chuse who shou'd succeed him: Several inclin'd to *Gotarzes*: Others were for *Meherdates* of *Phrahates*'s Race, who was given to us for a Hostage. *Gotarzes* Interest at last prevail'd, and having no sooner got into the Throne, but compell'd the *Parthians* by Luxury and Cruelty to send Deputies to the *Roman* Emperour, to let *Meherdates* privately escape and come and enjoy his Father's Kingdom.

11. The same Year the Secular Games were exhibited, 800 Years after the Foundation of *Rome*, and 64 after their Institution by *Augustus*. I'll say nothing of the Reasons of either Prince, having already given 'em in the Books I writ of *Domitian*'s Reign: For he too gave 'em; and I was the more exact in 'em, because

\* They had the keeping of the Sybils Books.

I was then one of the \* *Quindecim Viri*, and Prætor at the same time. I don't say this out of Vanity, but because the College of *Fifteen* had formerly the Care of 'em, and the Management of the Ceremonial Part was left wholly to the Magistrates. While *Claudius* was sitting to see the *Circensian* Games, and the young Noblemen at that Exercise they call *Troy*; amongst whom was *Britannicus*, the Emperor's Son, and *L. Domitius*, afterwards adopted to the Empire, and call'd *Nero*; the Inclination the People shew'd to him, was look'd upon as a Presage to his future Grandeur: And 'twas given out, That, when he was a Child, two Dragons were found near him, as if they had been his Guard; a Story altogether fabulous, and contriv'd upon a Foreign Miracle of that kind; for he, who by no means wou'd ever detract from himself, confess'd, He never saw but one poor Snake in his Chamber.

12. But the Inclination the People had for him, proceeded from the Veneration they had for *Germanicus's* Memory, who left no other Male-child but him; and *Messalina's* Cruelty rais'd their Pity and Concern for *Agrippina*, who was always thwarted by her, and then more enrag'd against her, because her new unruly Passion took her off from forging Crimes against her, and finding out Informers that shou'd Prosecute her for 'em. For she was grown so passionately in love with *C. Silius*, the beautifullest Youth in *Rome*, that she made him put away his Wife *Junia Silana*, a Woman of Quality, that she might have him to herself: Nor was *Silius* ignorant of the Injury he did his Wife, or the Danger he ran; he was certainly a dead Man, if he refus'd: His comfort was, that he hop'd he shou'd not be found out; however, he was for enjoying and making the most of the present Bliss, and in time hop'd to find his Account by it. As for her, she never visited him in private, but numerously attended; was always with him

him when he went abroad; gave him Money, and conferr'd Honours upon him: at length, as if the *Imperial Fortune* and *Dignity* had been translated to another House, the Prince's Slaves, Freed-men, and Equipage, were seen daily at her *Gallants*.

13. But *Claudius*, forgetting that he was marry'd, and bent wholly upon executing the Censor's Office, put out a thundring Edict against the Debaucheries of the Stage, for abusing *Pomponius* (who had been Consul, and us'd to Write for the Stage) and several Women of Quality: And, by a Law, restrain'd the Severity of Usurers, *Forbidding the lending of Money to Sons under Age, to be paid with Interest upon the Death of their Fathers*: And brought the Water, from under the *Imbruan-hills*, in Pipes to this City; added and publish'd new Figures to the Letters of the Alphabet, it being certain that the *Greeks* did not find out and finish theirs at the same time.

14. The *Egyptians* were the first that express'd their Conceptions of Mind by Figures of Animals, (these were the ancientst Monuments of Man's Memory, impress'd on Stones) and they give out, that they were the first Inventors of Letters. From them the *Phanicians*, who were Masters of the Sea, transplanted 'em into *Greece*, and had the honour of inventing that which they learn'd from others: For the receiv'd Opinion is, That *Cadmus*, while he was on Board the *Phanician Fleet*, taught his Art to the *Greeks*, who, as yet, were ignorant. Some tell us, that *Cecrops* the *Athenian*, or *Linus* the *Theban*, or *Palamede* the *Argive*, before the Destruction of *Troy*, found out 16 Letters; afterwards others, especially *Simonides*, the rest. But, in *Italy*, the *Etrurians* learn'd 'em of *Damaratus* of *Corinth*, and the *Aborigines* of *Evander* the *Arcadian*; and the *Latin* Letters were writ after the same manner as the old *Greek* were. We too had but few at first; the rest, in process of time, being added. This serv'd for an Example to *Claudius* to add three, which were us'd

while he reign'd, but afterwards laid aside, and are yet to be seen in Plates of Copper, fix'd on the *Fora* and Temples, in which are publish'd the Decrees of the Senate.

15. He mov'd the Senate to take the *Aruspices* into their consideration, *That the ancient Italian Discipline might not grow obsolete and be forgot, thro' neglect; because, whenever the Common-wealth was in danger, these Men had often been sent for, by whose Advice the Ceremonies were renew'd and decently perform'd. The Nobility of Etruria, of their own accord, or the Senate's impulse, retain'd the Science and cultivated it in their Families; but now grown cold, through a contempt and neglect of Liberal Arts, and prevalence of Foreign Superstition. At present indeed things went well; but thanks were to be given to the Gods, That those Sacred Rites, which were observ'd in difficult times, were not forgot in better. Upon this an Act was made, That the Priests shou'd inspect what was fit to be retain'd and confirm'd relating to the Aruspices.*

\* Those of the County of Mansfeld.

16. The same Year the *Cherusci* \* sent to Rome to ask a King, having lost all their Nobles in Civil Wars at home, except one of the Royal Family, who was kept in the City, call'd *Italus*: His Father's Name was *Flavius*, *Arminius's* Brother, and his Mother, the Daughter of *Catumer* Prince of the *Catti* †. He was of Comely Prefence, and Adroit at his Exercises, both after the Roman and his own Country way. *Cesar*, having Equipp'd him with Money, and appointed him a Guard, advis'd him to receive boldly the Honour that had been in his Family; and consider, that he was born at Rome, not as an Hostage, but a Citizen, now going to command abroad. At first he was welcom to the *Germans*, and the more, that not siding with any Faction, he carry'd himself impartially to all; every body was full of his Praises: One while he was Affable and Temperate, Qualities that were lik'd by all; then again

again he wou'd play the good Fellow, which made those *Barbarians* mightily pleas'd with his Temper. And now his Reputation began to exert itself far and near, when those who made some sort of Figure, during the Troubles, growing jealous of his Power, left him and went off to the adjacent Nations, complaining, That the old German-Liberty was lost, and the Romans at the Head of every thing: 'Twas hard that none were to be found in their Country, worthy of a Crown, but the Race of *Flavius* the Spy. It signify'd nothing to trump up *Arminius's* Title, whose Son, brought up in an Enemies Country, if he shou'd ever come to the Crown, might be dangerous, as being corrupted by Foreign Pensions, Slaves, Customs and Fashions. But if *Italus* was of his Father's Mind, none ever fought more desperately against his Country and its Religion than his Father and Mother.

17. Upon these and such like Remonstrances, they got together great Bodies of Men, nor was *Italus* follow'd by a less number, saying, The Prince they serv'd, was not thrust upon 'em against their Will, but was of their own choice; and since he was of nobler Extraction than any, they were resolv'd to try if his Courage was equal to it, and whether he had any of his Uncle *Arminius* or his Grandfather *Catumer's* Blood in him: That he did not blush, that his Father never broke his Faith with the Romans, which he made upon the instigation of the Germans: That Liberty was falsely pretended and call'd so by those, who at home dar'd do nothing; and yet were continually grumbling against the Government, hoping to find their Account by the Divisions amongst us. The Mob shouted about him, who esteem'd him the more for his late Victory gain'd amongst 'em; but in a little time lost himself quite with 'em, his Success so altering his Temper, that he grew insupportable, and was forc'd to quit his Kingdom; but being restor'd, by the assistance of the *Lombards*, he harass'd their Country, sometimes gaining, sometimes losing.

18. About

\* Those of Friesland and Groningen; of Gorcum in Holland.

18. About the same time the *Chauci* \*, quiet at home, and glad that *Sanquinius* was dead, made an Incurſion into the lower Germany, (while *Corbulo* was on his way to take upon him the Government) under the Command of *Gannafcus*, by birth a *Canineſat*, who had ſerv'd long in the Auxiliaries, but afterwards deſerted; this Man infeſted the *Gallick* Coaſt with light Cruizers, knowing the People were rich and not uſ'd to War. But *Corbulo*, entering into the Country with great diligence firſt and glory, after which was his firſt Expedition, brought Gallies upon the *Rhine*, and put other Boats, as he found occaſion, into the Ditches and Creeks that were nigh the ſhore; ſunk the Enemies Veſſels, and beat *Gannafcus* out of the Country: and, ſettling Matters pretty well for the preſent, march'd back with the Legions loaden with Plunder, and who, till then, had never known ſuch Service, and brought 'em to their old Diſcipline, commanding, upon pain of Death, none ſhou'd leave their Ranks, or skirmiſh without Order. The Duties of the Day and Night were perform'd by the Men under Arms; and, they ſay, he put one Soldier to death for digging a Trench without his Sword by his ſide, and another becauſe he had only his Dagger on. Which Severities, whether true or falſe, proceeded from the General's Temper, who you may imagine was inexorable in great Offences, who was ſo ſevere in puniſhing little ones.

19. However, this Proceeding had different Effects upon our Men and the Enemy: Our Courage and Diſcipline was in repute by it, and their Brutality depreſs'd: And the *Frieſlanders*, who (after the Rebellion began by the Death of *C. Apronius*) declar'd againſt us, or were jealous of us, gave us Hoſtages, and inhabited and cultivated thoſe Lands that *Corbulo* allotted 'em. After that, he eſta bliſh'd a Senate, Magiſtrates and Laws amongſt 'em, and, to keep 'em the more

more in awe, fortify'd a Place and kept Garrifon in it; ſending, at the ſame time, ſome to the leading Men amongſt the *Chauci*, to try if they cou'd bring 'em over, and privately ſeize *Gannafcus*. This Trick ſucceeded; nor was it ungenerous Proceeding with a Deſerter and Violator of his Faith. *Corbulo*, finding the *Chauci* in ſome diſtraction at *Gannafcus*'s death, did what he cou'd to foment their Diviſions, which, as it pleas'd ſome, was diſlik'd by others. For why, ſaid they, ſhou'd he rouse thoſe that were quiet? If ill came on't, the Commonwealth wou'd ſuffer by't; if he ſucceeded, a Man of his Courage and Reputation is dangerous in time of Peace, and makes a puſillanimous Prince uneaſe; ſo far was *Claudius* from enterprizing any thing in Germany, that he commanded all the Garrifons to be evacuated, and the Men to be poſt-ed on this ſide the *Rhine*.

20. And *Corbulo* received Letters to this effect, as he was marking out the Ground to encamp upon, in the Enemies Country. Surpriz'd with ſo unexpected an Order, and his Head full of a thouſand things, as the fear he had the Emperour wou'd not reliſh what he had done, the deſpicable Opinion the *Barbarians* wou'd have of him, and the Railery of the Allies, ſaid nothing, but, *How happy were the Roman Generals in former days!* and order'd a Retreat to be founded. But, to keep the Army a little in breath, he order'd a Ditch \* to be cut betwixt the *Maefe* and the *Rhine*, three and twenty Miles long, to defend the Country againſt the uncertain Overflowing of the Sea. However *Ceſar* granted him the honour of triumphing, tho' he forbid him making War. Sometime after *Curtius Rufus* obtain'd the ſame honour, who diſcover'd a Silver Mine in the Territories of the *Mattiaci* †, which turn'd to no great Account, by reaſon it bled but a little while. The Soldiers,

\* This is the Canal that goes from *Leyden* to *Delft*, and from thence to *Maefland-myeck*, and ſo to *Maefland-fluce*.

† *Wis-Baden* in Germany, where there are hot Baths.

tired

tired with digging Trenches to drain the Water, and doing that under ground which was a drudgery to do above; write a Letter clandestinely to the Emperour, in the Name of the whole Army, because they found their Camarades had the same Hardships put upon 'em in all the Provinces, in which they pray him, to grant the triumphal Honours before-hand to him that shou'd command the Army next.

21. I wou'd not say a false thing, and am asham'd to tell the truth of *Curtius Rufus's* Original, who, some say, was the Son of a Gladiator; when he was grown up he follow'd the *Quæstor* into *Africa*, and, while he was at *Adrumetum*, fauntring alone up and down the *Portico* in the heat of the day, something like a Woman appear'd to him, tho' bigger than ordinary and said, *Thou art he, Rufus, that one day shall be Pro-Consul of this Province.* Big with the hopes this Omen gave him, he return'd to *Rome*, where, by his Friends Assistance and his own Ingenuity, he obtain'd the *Quæstorship*, and in a little time after the *Prætorship*, against several of the Nobility who pretended to it, by the Prince's Favour, who disguised the Meanness of his Birth, by saying, *Curtius Rufus seems to me to be born of himself.* In his old Age, and, by flattering great Men against his Will, his arrogant Carriage to those below him, and Uneasiness amongst his Equals, he obtain'd the *Consulship*, the Ensigns of Triumph, and, at last, the Government of *Africk*, and, there dying, fulfill'd the fatal Prefage of him.

22. In the mean while *Cn. Novius*, a Roman Knight, was found with his Sword by his side, among those that came to pay their Court to the Emperour, without any reason, then known, or since; nor wou'd he confess, upon his being tortur'd, either of himself or any body else. The same Year was order'd, upon *Dolobella's* advice, That the Gladiator's Show, that was us'd to be given every Year, shou'd be given, for the future,

future, by those that stood for the *Quæstorship*. In our Ancestors days this Office was the Reward of Virtue, and every honest Citizen was capable of being in the *Magistracy*. Nor was there any distinction of age, but he was thought old enough, whom the People thought qualify'd to be *Consul* or *Dictator*. But the *Quæstors* were instituted even under Kingly Government, as the Law made by the *Curia* declares, which was reviv'd by *Brutus*, and the *Consuls* had the power of naming 'em, till the People wou'd have that honour conferr'd upon them, and *Valerius Porcius* and *Amilius Mamercus* were the first that were created, sixty three Years after the expulsion of the *Tarquins*, whose business was to take care of the Military Affairs, as Business came in. Two more were added to take care of the City; and, at last, the number was doubled, all *Italy* becoming tributary, whose business was to receive the Taxes that were levy'd upon the Provinces. In process of time *Sylla* made a Law, that twenty shou'd be created to make a full Senate, who had cognizance of Civil Causes; and tho' the Knights had recover'd their Privileges of hearing and determining Causes, the *Quæstorship* was always given, as the Candidates deserv'd it, and without expence, as the humours of the People led 'em, till *Dolobella* mov'd it might be expos'd to sale to him that bid most.

23. In the *Consulship* of *A. Vitellius* and *L. Vipsanius*, 'twas debated whether the Senate shou'd be fill'd up, and the Nobility of *Gallia Comata*, who, time out of mind, had been ally'd to *Rome*, and enjoy'd the Privileges of it, desir'd, that they might be capable of the Honours and Dignities of the City; which occasion'd much Discourse, and the thing was bandy'd about differently, some affirming, That *Italy was not in so ill a condition, that the Senate cou'd not be supply'd out of their own City. Formerly its Inhabitants and their Relations were sufficient, without seeking any farther, and they were not asham'd*

asham'd. to do as the old Republick had done before them. That Examples were fresh in their memory, of generous Acts that made the Courage and good Disposition of the present Romans equal that of their Ancestors. Was it so small a thing for the Paduans and the Milaneze to break into the Court, but that a Troop of Foreigners, like so many Prisoners, must be brought in too? What Honours will be left for the rest of the Nobility? Or shou'd some Latian Senator decline in his Fortune, what Provision wou'd there be for him? These wealthy Men wou'd be in possession of every thing, whose Ancestors commanded our Enemies Armies, and have often worsted us, and once besieg'd the God-like Julius in Alefia. This is in every bodies memory; but suppose we shou'd call to mind those who burnt the City, destroy'd the Capitol, and the great Altar of Rome; let 'em be call'd, and enjoy the Privileges of Roman Citizens, but it were to make the Senatorial Honour and the Magistracy too cheap, to make 'em capable of those Dignities.

24. The Prince, not at all mov'd with this Discourse, made a Remonstrance off-hand to the contrary, and, assembling the Senate, began in this manner: *My Ancestors (the ancientest of whom was Clausus of the Sabine Race, made Citizen of Rome and receiv'd into the Patrician Family at the same time) advis'd me to govern the Commonwealth by the same Councils they had done, and translate hither whatever was worthy and good, let it be found where it wou'd. I know very well the Julii came from Alba; the Coruncanii from Camerium; the Porcii from Tusculum; and, not to search into remoter Matters, some have been call'd to the Senate from Etruria, Lucania, and all parts of Italy. In a word, we see the City extended as far as the Alps; not that this or that Man, but entire and different Nations might become our Subjects, and enlarge our Dominions: Then was Solid Peace at Home, and Rome made a Figure Abroad, when the Nations on the other side the Po were made Denizens of Rome, and when, under pretence of Marching our Legions through the World, we brought over*

*to our Interest the Leading Men of those Provinces, and by this means supported the Groaning Empire. Are we sorry that the Balbi left Spain, or the Nobility of Gallia Narbonensis their own Country for Ours? Their Posterity remain amongst us still, and are as zealous for the Commonwealth as We. Was it not fatal to Lacedæmon and Athens, tho' they were great in Arms, to treat the Prisoners they took in War as Strangers? On the contrary, Romulus, our Founder, shew'd himself a wise Prince, in making his Enemies his Friends the same day. Strangers have Ruin'd us; and 'tis no new thing (tho' some who deceive themselves think otherwise) to see the Sons of Freed-men enjoy considerable Employments, since 'twas done by our Ancestors. But we have fought against the Senones, and the Volsci and the Aequi, I'll warrant, never bore Arms against us! The Gauls once took us, and we have given Hostages to the Thuscans, and been Slaves to the Samnites; and if we look back, we shall find no War sooner ended than that betwixt us and the Gauls; a firm and lasting Peace succeeded. Now there is a mighty Resemblance in Customs, Arts, besides our Alliance, and 'twere more for the Good of the State they should spend their Money amongst us, than in their own Country. Every thing, my Lords, we now think Old was New: The Popular Magistrates were created after the Patrician, the Latin after the Popular; and after them, those of the other People of Italy: This too, in time, will grow old, and what we defend by Examples to day, will one day serve for a Precedent.*

25. An Act was made in conformity to the Emperor's Speech, and the *Ædui* were the first that obtain'd the Privilege of being Senators of Rome. This Favour they had in consideration of their ancient Alliance, and because they were the only Gauls that call'd the Romans Brothers. At the same time *Cæsar* made the oldest Senators *Patricians*, or those whose Fathers had enjoy'd great and honourable Employments, there remaining but few of those whom *Romulus*



lus call'd the greater Gentry, and *L. Brutus* the inferior; and those too were almost exhausted, whom the Dictator *Cæsar*, by the *Cassian* Law, and *Augustus*, by the *Senian*, carried along with 'em. All these kind Offices done to the Commonwealth pleas'd the Censor mightily, who found himself a little embarrass'd, how to bring it about to purge the House of those Members, whose Vices made 'em scandalous, and thought of a new way, which favour'd of his former Rigor, which was, to advise every one to Examine himself, and if he found himself Unworthy, to ask leave to quit the Senate; that the thing would be easily granted; that he himself would give in a List of those that were expell'd, and those that remain'd; that the Censor's Opinion, and their Modesty that left the House, might, in some measure, alleviate their Disgrace. Upon which the Consul *Vipsanius* mov'd, that *Claudius* should be call'd *Father of the Senate*, since the Title of *Father of his Country* was promiscuously given; That those who merited well of the Commonwealth, by new ways, should have no Common Honors conferr'd upon them. But he reprimanded the Consul for his too-gross Flattery, and order'd the *Lustrum*, where almost Six millions of People were enregister'd: And here he began to find out what pass'd in his Family, being forc'd to enquire into and punish his Wife's Crimes, that he might proceed in his Incestuous Love.

26. And now *Messalina*, tir'd with the Easiness and Cheapness of her Gallants, began to think of new and more Refin'd Pleasures, and *Silius* (whether through Folly, that afterwards prov'd fatal to him, or thinking that 'twas safest for him to go on with it) advis'd her to throw off her Mask and act above-board, urging, "Twas not come to that yet, to wait till the Prince grew old: Advice hurts not the Guiltless; 'twas then Men had recourse to Impudence, when  
" their

"their ill Actions came to be discover'd: Others were in the same Predicament with them, as to that matter, and had as much reason to fear being Punish'd as they. As for his part, he was unmarried, had no Children, and was ready to marry her and adopt *Britannicus*, assuring him, That he should have the same Power and Authority, if they could be before-hand with *Claudius*, who as he was easily angry, so he was easily pleas'd. She did not much relish this Discourse of his, not out of love to her Husband, but for fear that when *Silius* had the Power in his Hands, he might turn her off, and treat her as an Adulteress; and the Ills he was forc'd to do for his own Security, appear in their true light. She, to conceal her Infamy, was for covering her Crime with the specious Name of *Matrimony*; the last Comfort of those who give themselves up to Lewdness, as she had done; nor could she stay any longer than *Cæsar* went to *Ostia* to perform some Sacrifice, and the Marriage was solemniz'd.

27. I know very well, 'twill be look'd upon as a Story, that an Affair of this nature should be transacted in so populous a City, that knows every thing, and keeps nothing secret; that the Consul elect should assemble upon a prefix'd day, so many People to be Witnesses, and sign the Certificate of his Marriage to the Emperor's Wife, declaring, he did it to have Children by her; and the *Auspex* perform the Ceremonies, and after they were over, Sacrifice at the Altar, Dine in publick with those that were invited; kiss him, embrace him, and pass the Night together, as Man and Wife. There's nothing added to make it seem strange, and I write nothing but what I have been told and read.

28. This alarm'd the Prince's Family, especially those who were in most Credit, and had most Reason to fear, if the Scene of Affairs should change; 'twas  
R whisper'd

whisper'd no longer, but openly talk'd of. *Indeed*, said they, 'twas a *Disgrace to the Prince*, when his *Bed* was defil'd by a *Player*; yet there was no *Danger* in him: But here a young *Nobleman*, handsom, witty, in mighty *Reputation*, just entering upon his *Office of Consul*, 'twas to be fear'd, meant something more, and which would be no longer a *Secret* after the *Marriage* was own'd. Without doubt they had Reason to be afraid, when they consider'd the *Ascendent* she had over the *Emperor*, and the many *Deaths* she had been the occasion of. On the other side, they knew his *Temper* was such, that if they could but tell their *Tale* first, and aggravate the heinousness of the *Crime*, she would be condemn'd without being heard. But here lay the *Danger*; if the *Emperor* should be prevail'd upon to hear her in her own *Defence*: And their *Business* was, to stop the *Prince's Ears*, tho' she should acknowledge her *Fault*.

29. *Callistus*, whom I have already mention'd when I spoke of *Cesar's Death*, *Narcissus* the *Contriver of Appian's Death*, and *Pallas* the *Court-Mignon* at that time, laid their *Heads* together, how to bring *Messalina* off, by threatening her from loving *Silius*, dissembling every thing else: But fearing it might ruin 'em if they could not bring it about, they thought better on't, and gave it over; *Pallas*, out of *Fear*; *Callistus*, because he knew the last *Court* well, and had always observ'd, Men made their *Fortune* more by *Trimming* than *Honest Counsels*: But *Narcissus* was resolv'd to go through with it, only with this *Alteration*, that it should not be known who was her *Accuser*, or what she was accus'd of; and resolving now to lose no time, while *Cesar* staid so long at *Ostia*, procures two *Strumpets*, whom the *Emperor* had often lain with, to swear against her, insinuating, That if they could by any means divorce the *Emperor* from her, they might share him betwixt 'em.

30. *Calpurnia* (for so one of 'em was call'd) being let into the *Secret*, goes to *Cesar*, and throwing her self at his *Feet*, cries out, *Messalina is married to Silius*; and *Cleopatra*, who was by, being ask'd the same *Question*, confirm'd it by a *Nod*, and desir'd that *Narcissus* might be call'd in, who, after begging the *Emperor's Pardon* for what was past, in not discovering the *Intrigues* betwixt *Messalina* and *Vectius*, and her and *Plautus*, said, He would not at this time reproach her with her *Adulteries*, nor advise him to demand his *House*, *Slaves*, and his other *Imperial Ornaments*, but let him keep 'em, provided he gave him back his *Wife*, and cancell'd the *Nuptial Contract*. I don't know, Sir, whether you knew that your *Wife* was *Elop'd*, but the *People*, *Senate*, and *Army* saw the *Marriage* celebrated, and if you don't make haste, the new *Spouse* will be *Master of the City*.

31. Upon this he assembles those of his *Friends* he thought he could best trust, especially *Turrianus*, *Proveditor of the Corn*, and *Lusius Geta*, *Captain of his Guards*, and ask'd 'em what they had heard of it; who confessing what they knew, those that were there cry'd out, "The *Emperor* should immediately go to the *Army*, and give *Order* for the *Guards* to be doubled, and think of his *Safety* before his *Revenge*. *Claudius* was in such *Confusion*, that he ask'd 'em, if they were sure He was *Emperor*, and whether *Silius* was a *private Man*; whilst *Messalina* abandoning her self entirely to her *Pleasures*, gave a *Vintage-Masquerade* in the midst of *Autumn*, at her own *House*: The *Grapes* were press'd, and the *Juice* poured out of the *Vat*, the *Women*, cloath'd in *Skins*, skipp'd about like so many *Bacchanals* at their *Sacrifices*; she, in her *Hair* dishevel'd, brandish'd a *Javelot* made of a *Vine*; by her was *Silius*, crown'd with *Ivy*, and *Buskins* on his *Legs*, tossing his *Head*, whilst the rest sang and danc'd round him. They say, that *Vectius Valens*, in one of his merry *Fits*, climb'd up a *Tree*, and being ask'd

ask'd what he saw, answer'd, *An ugly Storm coming from Ostia*; but whether he saw any Clouds gathering, or foretold what came to pass, is uncertain.

32. 'Twas not only talk'd of, but Coureirs came continually to confirm it, That *Claudius* had discover'd their Intrigues, and was upon the march to give 'em condign Punishment. *Messalina* retir'd to *Lucullus's* Gardens; and *Silius*, the better to disguise his Fear, went to the *Forum*, to do his Duty; the rest slunk away as fast as they could; the Centurions seiz'd and bound all those they met in the Streets, or found lurking in By-places: But *Messalina*, tho' her Misfortunes had almost made her mad, was resolv'd to go and meet her Husband, and shew herself, that having formerly stood her in some stead, and commanded *Britannicus* and *Octavia* to embrace their Father, and at the same time begg'd of *Vibidia*, Superior of the Vestal Virgins, to go to the High-Priest, and entreat him to be her Friend at this juncture: Accompanied but with three Persons, so suddenly was she deserted, away she trudges through the City on foot, and finding a little Cart that Gardeners use to carry their Weeds, &c. out in, gets into it, and drives for *Ostia*; and so great an Abhorrence had every one of her Crimes, that nobody pitied her.

33. However, *Cesar* was afraid, not daring to trust *Geta*, Captain of his Guards, who was subject to change, and sometimes for the worse as well as better. *Narcissus* too, taking those along with him who were as much afraid as himself, tells the Emperor, "He could be safe no way, but by giving the Command of the Army immediately to one of his Freed-men; and withal, That if His Majesty pleas'd, he would take it upon himself. And lest *L. Vitellius*, and *P. Largus Cecina* might work upon him, as they were coming up to Town, to alter his Resolutions, he put himself into the Emperor's Chariot.

34. 'Twas

34. 'Twas commonly said, That whilst the Prince was reflecting upon his Wifes Infamy, his Marriage, and his Childrens Age, *Vitellius* said nothing but, *Oh horror! O strange!* *Narcissus* would have had him explain himself, what he meant by those Exclamations, but he did not; and all he could get out of him were words that had a doubtful Meaning in 'em. And *Largus Cecina* did the same. By this time *Messalina* was in sight, and call'd out to 'em, to hear *Octavia* and *Britannicus's* Mother, while her Accuser cry'd out, *Silius* and *Marriage*, and gave *Cesar* Affidavits of her Lewdness to read, that he might not look upon her: And had not *Narcissus* commanded the Children the Emperor had by her to be carried away, they had been presented to the Emperor, as he was making his Entry into the City. But *Vibidia* would not be serv'd so, and urg'd the Emperor with Instance, not to put his Wife to Death, unheard in her own Defence. *Narcissus* answer'd in the Prince's Name, "She should be heard to Clear herself of those Crimes that were laid to her Charge, and commanded her to retire, and mind her Sacrifices.

35. Every one was amaz'd at *Claudius's* Silence: *Vitellius* seem'd to know nothing of what was doing; the Freed-man did what he pleas'd; commanded the Adulterer's House to be broke open, and carried the Emperor thither. The first thing he saw was *Silius's* Father's Image, in the Porch, which the Senate had order'd to be taken down; then shew'd him the vast Treasure the *Neros* and *Drusi* had been amassing, given to *Silius* for his Drudgery. When he perceiv'd him kindle at this, he carried him into the Camp, where the Soldiers were got together to hear his Speech: *Narcissus* advis'd him to say something to 'em, which he did, but his Shame was so great, that his just Grief could not overcome it. The Troops cry'd out, "Give us their Names, that we may punish the Traytors.

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*Silius* stept up upon the Tribunal, and said, "He did not come there to gain time, but pray'd a speedy Death. The same Constancy did several illustrious Roman Knights shew at the point of Death; *Titius Proculus*, whom *Silius* put upon *Messalina*, to observe her Motions; *Vestius Valens*, who accus'd others of the same Crime he own'd himself guilty; *Pompeius Urbicus*, and *Sansellus Trogus*, were sentenc'd to dye, as Accessories; *Decius Calpurnianus*, Captain of the Watch; *Sulpicius Rufus*, Master of the Revels, and *Junius Virgilianus*, a Senator, suffer'd the same Fate.

36. *Mneſter* was the only Man that pray'd for longer time, and tearing his Clothes, bid him look upon his Stripes, and call to mind who 'twas that bid him comply with whatever *Messalina* commanded him: Others got or hop'd for great matters for what they did, but he acted purely out of Necessity: Nor was any Man more in danger of being put to Death, if *Silius* had come to the Empire. The Freed-men observing *Cæsar* mollified at this, told him, "That 'twas beneath him to think of pardoning a Player, after so many gallant Men had dy'd; That it signified nothing, whether he wrong'd his Bed voluntarily or by Compulsion. Nor was *Traulus Montanus's* Defence accepted of. This modest, young, handsome Gentleman was sent for, and turn'd off by *Messalina* the first Night, disliking as easily as she lik'd. The Execution of *Suilius Cæsoninus* and *Plautius Laceranus* was put off. He was sav'd for his Uncle's great Merits, and *Cæsoninus* for his Vices, having been Passive at that lewd Assembly.

37. In the mean while *Messalina* pass'd her time in *Lucullus's* Gardens, in forming Petitions, one while in Hope, and now in Anger; so high did she carry it even in her last Extremity: And had not *Narcissus* dispatch'd her as he did, her Accuser would have suffer'd instead of her; for *Claudius* being return'd home, and put in-

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to good Humor by a Banquet that pleas'd him, and which was prepar'd on purpose, when he began to be warm with Drinking, bid one of his Servants go and tell the Wretch, (for so he call'd her) that *He would hear what he had to say for herself to morrow*. Upon saying this, they observ'd his Anger ebb, and his Concern for her encrease; and the Night drawing nigh, they fear'd would put him in mind of his Wife's Bed-chamber, *Narcissus* goes out, and orders the Tribune and Centurions to put *Messalina* to Death, for such was the Emperor's Command; *Enodus* was order'd to assist 'em and see it done: He, making what haste he could to the Gardens, found her on the Ground, and her Mother *Lepida* sitting by her, who tho' she was not well with her Daughter in her prosperous Condition, however took Pity on her in her wretched Hour, and advis'd her not to stay to be kill'd; and since she must not think of living any longer, the best way was to dye as honourably as she could. Her Lust and Debaucheries had got such an Ascendent over her Understanding, that she could not think of any thing that was great or noble: Nor did her Tears or Complaints avail, when the Garden-doors were forc'd open, and the Tribune stood looking on her, without saying any thing, while the Freed-man upbraided her meanly and pitifully.

38. 'Twas then she was sensible of her Condition, and catch'd up a Knife, which she put to her Throat and Breast, but dar'd not stab herself; which the Tribune seeing, ran his Sword through her, and gave the Body to her Mother. *Claudius* was told at Table, That *Messalina* was dead, and he receiv'd the News with so much Indifference, that he did not so much as ask, whether it was by her own or another's Hand; then call'd for a Glass of Wine, and did as he us'd to do at Dinner: Nor did he shew any Concern, Hate,

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Anger, Joy; or Sadness, or any Symptoms of Human Affection the next day, when he saw her Accusers rejoicing, and his Children in Tears. The Senate contributed to his forgetting her; by ordering her Name and Image to be taken down. *Narcissus* had the Questor's Ensigns bestow'd upon him, which was the least of his Preferment, since he was next to *Pallas* and *Callistus* in the Emperor's Favour. 'Twas well done certainly to reward him; but his other Crimes going Unpunish'd, were the Cause of those Ills that afterwards happen'd to the Commonwealth.

THE

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THE  
ANNALS  
OF  
CORNELIUS TACITUS.

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The Twelfth Book.

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1. **M** *Effalina's* Death threw the Prince's Family into terrible Convulsions, and the Freedmen shew'd their Zeal, who should find out the fittest Wife for the Emperor, impatient of being a Widower any longer, and yet always under his Wives Correction. Nor were the Ladies fir'd with less Ambition, every one urging their Birth, Beauty, and Fortune, to make themselves worthy of the Prince's Bed: The greatest Dispute was betwixt *Lollia Paulina*, Daughter of *M. Lollius*, who had been Consul, and *Julia Agrippina*, *Germanicus's* Daughter; *Pallas* was for her, and *Callistus* for t'other; but *Narcissus* declar'd himself for *Alia Petina*, of the *Tubero* Family. The Prince, unresolv'd who to pitch upon, one while liking this, then another, as he was perswaded by those that had him last; advises with 'em, and commands 'em to

to give their Opinions freely, and their Reasons why they were of that Opinion.

2. *Narcissus* urg'd his former Marriage, and Children he had by her, (for *Antonia* was *Petina's* Daughter by him) by which means there would be little or no Alteration in his Family, if his former Wife should return: Nor would she use *Britannicus* and *Octavia* like a Step-mother, upon the account of the Relation they had to her own Children. *Callistus* remonstrated, that if she should be receiv'd again, after the Slights of so long a Divorce, 'twould make her Pride intolerable; That *Lollia* was much the fitter, as having no Children, and envious of no-body, would love those of her Husband as her own. But *Pallas* said in favour of *Agrippina*, "That she brought with her *Germanicus's* Grandchild, and one that was worthy of th' Imperial Dignity, who would one day unite his Race, Noble by a long Descent, to the *Claudian* Family, lest a Princess of known Fruitfulness, and in the bloom of Youth, might translate the *Cæsars* Glory into another House.

3. These Arguments, back'd with *Agrippina's* engaging Air in every thing she said or did, who, under pretence of Business, came often to visit her Uncle, so prevail'd upon him, that tho' she was not yet his Wife, but yet better in his Esteem than any of her Sex, began to use the Authority of a Wife; for when she was assured it would be done, she thought of forming something deeper, and bringing about a Match betwixt *Domitius* (whom she had by *Anobarchus*) and *Octavia*, *Cæsar's* Daughter, which however could not be done with Honour and Justice, because he had promised her to *L. Silanus*, and commanded the young Lord, who was loved and adored by every-body, to wear the Ensigns of Honour, as if he had already triumph'd, and treat the People, that he might be better known to 'em, with the Gladiator's Shew.

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4. But nothing seem'd difficult to this Prince, who had no Judgment or Passions, but what others put into him; wherefore *Vitellius* finding *Domitius* likely to succeed in Exclusion to *Britannicus*, began to work himself, under the colour of his Censor's Office, into *Agrippina's* Favour, and use his finest Flattery, to gain her good Graces, charg'd *Silanus* with Crimes, whose Sister *Junia Calvina*, celebrated for her Wit and Beauty, had formerly been his Mistress, and accus'd 'em not only of Incestuous Love, but Indiscretion, in not concealing it from the World. *Cæsar's* Affection to his Daughter inclin'd him to receive a Prejudice the more easily to his Son-in-law; whilst *Silanus*, ignorant of the base Practices against him, and being, by chance, Prætor for that Year, finds himself, of a sudden, degraded from his Senatorial Dignity, by an Edict of *Vitellius*, tho' the Senate had lately been chosen, and the Lustrum made and confirm'd. At the same time *Claudius* broke off the Match, and *Silanus* being forc'd to lay down his Office; 'twas given to *Epeius Marcellus*, for the rest of the Year.

5. When *C. Pompeius* and *Q. Veranius* were Consuls, the Contract of Marriage betwixt *Claudius* and *Agrippina* was made; and tho' every-body had reason to think the thing done, 'twas not thought advisable to solemnize it in publick, there being no President, that an Uncle married his Brother's Daughter; which, should it be look'd upon as Incest, and as such condemn'd, 'twas feared might be of ill consequence. Nor were they fully resolv'd in't, till *Vitellius* took it upon himself to surmount all the Difficulties in it; and asking *Cæsar*, whether he would be concluded by the Senate or the People, he answer'd, That being One of them, he could not oppose what they order'd. After bidding the Emperor stay in the Palace, away he goes into the *Curia*, where signifying, that he had something to declare to 'em for the Good of the Publick, desir'd that he might be heard

heard before any-body else, and thus began : “ The  
 “ Emperór having need of one to help him in the  
 “ great and indefatigable Pains he took to govern the  
 “ World, that being eas’d of the Burden of his Do-  
 “ mestic Affairs, he might be able to look after the  
 “ Public better : What can help him to undergo the  
 “ Fatigue his Censors Office brings upon him so well as  
 “ a Wife, to share with him in his Adversity as well as  
 “ Prosperity, in whom he might repose his secret clo-  
 “ sest Thoughts, and trust with the Education of his  
 “ little Children, a Prince, who never was his Plea-  
 “ sures Slave, but knew how to be obedient to the  
 “ Laws from his Youth ?

6. The Senate shew’d their liking the beginning  
 of this Speech by their base servile Flattery, which en-  
 courag’d him to go on in these terms : “ Since every  
 “ one was of Opinion, there was a necessity the Prince  
 “ should marry, the next thing to be done was, to  
 “ find out a Wife of Noble Birth, Irreproachable Life,  
 “ and one that was likely to bring him Children ; ’twas  
 “ easily answered, That as none was better born than  
 “ *Agrippina*, so she had already given Proofs of her  
 “ Fruitfulness, and a Life and Conduct unblamable ;  
 “ but this was remarkable, that by the Providence of  
 “ the Gods, a Widow should be married to a Prince  
 “ who was constant to his own, and never took ano-  
 “ ther Man’s Wife from him. Their Forefathers had  
 “ told ’em, and they had seen in their own days, the  
 “ *Cæsars* ravish Mens Wives from ’em at their pleasure ;  
 “ but far be it from the Modesty of the present Prince,  
 “ who’d set an Example how a Prince should marry.  
 “ But, it may be, it may seem new for an Uncle to mar-  
 “ ry his Niece ; however, ’tis practis’d in other Coun-  
 “ tries ; nor is it forbidden by any Law. So Cousin-  
 “ Germans marrying, which was unknown formerly,  
 “ in time grew Customary ; and in Customs we consult  
 “ the Conveniency more than any thing else, which, I  
 “ hope,

“ hope, will so far justify this Match, as to make it  
 “ serve for a President.

7. Every one strove who should get out of the  
 Court first, and tell *Cæsar*, “ That if he refus’d to do  
 “ it any longer, they’d compel him to it. The Mobb  
 join’d themselves promiscuously with ’em, and cry’d,  
 “ The People too expected he should do it forthwith.  
 Whereupon *Claudius* went immediately to the *Forum*,  
 to shew himself to those who congratulated him upon  
 his Marriage, and going into the Senate, mov’d, that  
 an Act should be made to declare Marriages betwixt  
 Uncles and their Nieces, for the future, lawful. *Talle-  
 dius Severus*, a Roman Knight, was the only Person that  
 inclin’d to such a way of marrying, who, as several  
 said, was mov’d to it, the better to make his Court to  
*Agrippina*. The Scene of Affairs was presently chang’d,  
 and every-body submitted to what she commanded,  
 (who did not lasciviously play with the Government as  
*Messalina* did) as if it had been in the Hands of a Man.  
 In public she carried herself very gravely, and some-  
 times shew’d she could be proud : In her Family she  
 was humble, unless it were to exert her Authority,  
 and disguis’d her insatiable Thirst after Riches, under  
 the Pretence of their being necessary for the Preserva-  
 tion of the State.

8. Upon the day of Marriage *Silanus* kill’d himself ;  
 whether he put off his Hopes of a Pardon till then, or  
 chose that day on purpose to make ’em more odious.  
 His Sister *Calvina* was banish’d *Italy*, and *Claudius* or-  
 der’d that the Sacred Rites should be perform’d as  
*King Tullus* had appointed, and the Priests to do their  
 Expiatory Sacrifices in *Diana’s Grove* ; whilst most Peo-  
 ple laugh’d in their Sleeves to see Expiations made for  
 Incest. But *Agrippina*, who would not be known by  
 her ill Actions only, got Leave for *Annaeus Seneca* to be  
 recalled, and some time after chose Prætor, thinking  
 the People would be pleas’d with it, considering his  
 great

great Learning, and that *Domitius* being brought up under him, she might have an Opportunity of advising with him how to get the Power into their own Hands, because they thought *Seneca* would be grateful for the Favour *Agrippina* had done him, and lay up the Injuries *Claudius* did him in his Memory, till time should serve.

9. 'Twas not thought advisable to put it off any longer, and *Memmius Pollio* was push'd on by lusty Promises to deliver his Opinion, as by way of Advice, to the Emperor, to promise *Octavia* to *Domitius*, since their Ages would admit of it, and things of greater consequence depend on it; and *Pollio* using the same Arguments as *Vitellius* did lately, the young Princess was promis'd to him: By which means *Domitius*, sure of the Daughter, (besides his former Relation) and consequently the Emperor's Son-in-law, would be upon the same foot with *Britannicus*, by *Agrippina's* Intrigues, and the Designs of those who accus'd the Mother, and had reason to fear the Son's Revenge.

10. About the same time the Ambassadors, as I mention'd before, that were sent from *Parthia* to ask *Meherdates* of the Senate, deliver'd their Commission in these Terms: *We come hither, remembering well the Treaties betwixt this State and us, and the Allegiance we owe to the Race of the Arsacidæ, to call in Vologases's Son, Phraates's Grandson, against Gotarzes's Tyranny, grown insupportable to the Nobility and Commonalty, who having murder'd his Brother, and all his Collateral Relations, and spar'd not even teeming Women, or sucking Children; good for nothing at Home, and unfortunate Abroad, thinks to palliate his Cowardice by Blood. The ancient Alliance betwixt this Republic and Us, and the mutual Promises to assist each other against those who Rival'd us in Glory, are still in our Minds; wherefore the Royal Children were given as Hostages to Rome, that in case we should grow weary of those who govern'd at Home, we might have Recourse to the Prince and*

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*Senate, to send us a better King, brought up amongst you, and vers'd in your Customs.*

11. When they had ended, *Cæsar* began his Speech, with the *Roman* Grandeur, and the good Offices of the *Parthians*; comparing himself to Divine *Augustus*, and telling 'em, they once ask'd a King of him, industriously leaving out *Tiberius*, tho' Ambassadors had been sent to him upon the same Errand. Then he gave *Meherdates*, who was by, some Instructions, advising him not to look upon himself as a Master that was going to command his Slaves, but a Governor, and they his Citizens; to shew Clemency and Justice, which would make him more acceptable to those People, as being Virtues they were not acquainted with: And turning to the Ambassadors, highly commended the Modesty the young Prince shewed upon all occasions, who was brought up with 'em in the City, and told 'em the Tempers of Kings must be born with, for frequent Changes were not for the Good of the State: That *Rome* was arriv'd at that pitch of Glory, that they wish'd foreign Nations the same Peace they enjoy'd. Upon this *C. Cassius*, Governor of *Syria*, was order'd to conduct the young Prince as far as the Banks of the *Euphrates*.

12. At that time *Cassius* was esteem'd the best Lawyer in *Rome*; for in Peace the Art of War is neglected, and the Coward upon the same foot with the Brave. When the Army was not engaged in a War, he brought the ancient Discipline into practise amongst 'em, exercis'd the Legions, shew'd himself as diligent and active as if the Enemy were ready to attack him; a thing he thought worthy of his Ancestors and Family that were celebrated even amongst those People. Upon this he calls all those together who were for having a King from *Rome*, and encamp'd at *Zeugma*, (where the River was easiest to be pass'd) and finding the *Parthian* Chiefs and *Abbarus* King of *Arabia* were joyned



joyned him, let *Meherdates* know, "that the briskness of these People used to shew in their Attacks would in probability be faint and languid, if deferred; if they did not betray him; that therefore he should push on the Resolutions he had taken. This Advice was slighted by the treacherous *Abbarus*, who carried the raw unexperienced Prince (who thought his Happiness consisted in Luxury) to *Edeffa*, where he kept him for several days; and when *Carrhenes* sent to 'em to come away, for that every thing was ready, and in good order; instead of marching directly through *Mesopotamia*, they marched about by *Armenia*, at that time almost impracticable, by reason the Winter was begun.

13. After several days tedious marching through Snow, and over Mountains, as they were entering upon the Plains, *Carrhenes's* Troops joyn'd 'em, and passing the *Tigris*, fell into the *Adiebeni's* Country, whose King *Izates*, in appearance declared himself for *Meherdates*, tho' underhand he was more faithfully oblig'd to *Gotarzes*. However, *Meherdates*, in his March, took the Town of *Nineve*, the ancient Residence of the Kings of *Assyria*, whose Castle was remarkable, in that *Alexander* and *Darius* fought their last Battel near it, in which the *Persians* were entirely defeated. While *Gotarzes* was on the Mountain *Sambulos*, he worship'd the Gods of the Place, of whom *Hercules* is most adored, who at a certain time orders the Priests, while they are asleep, to get Hunting-horses ready at his Temple: When they have Quivers fill'd with Arrows put upon their Backs, they scowr about the Woods, and at night return with 'em empty and run off 'o their Wind: Then the God tells 'em in a Dream what Woods they have been coursing in, and they go out and find the Game killed, and pick it up.

14. But *Gotarzes* finding his Army not yet strong enough, fortified his Camp with the River *Corina*, and tho' he was rallied, and challeng'd to give Battel, still put

it off, shifted his Quarters, and sent his Emisseries into the Enemy's Camp, to corrupt and draw over their Men. Upon this *Izates* the *Adiabeanian* left the Army, and was soon followed by *Abbarus* the *Arabian* King, with the Troops he commanded, according to the Levity and Inconstancy of that People, we having often experienced, that they had rather be always asking a King of us, than have one given 'em.

*Meherdates*, stript of so considerable a Succour, and suspecting the Fidelity of those who staid with him, found he had nothing else left, but to trust Fortune, and run the Risque of a Battel: Nor did *Gotarzes* decline it, having taken heart at the lessening of his Enemies Forces. The Fight was obstinate, and the Success doubtful, till *Carrhenes*, having routed those whom he charged in Front, advancing too far, was surrounded by a fresh Body, who fell upon his Rear, and was there cut off. *Meherdates* gave All for gone, and trusting in *Parraces*, his Father's Vassal, was by him made Prisoner, and delivered up to the Victor King, who, after having reproached him with not being Related to him, nor of the Blood of *Artaxes*, but a Stranger and a Roman, gave him his Life, but cut off his Ears, to shew his Clemency, and reproach us. Not long after, *Gotarzes* died, and *Vonones*, then Governor of *Media*, succeeded him. Nothing remarkable happened during his Reign, which was but short and inglorious, and the Government of *Parthia* devolved upon his Son *Vologeses*.

15. But *Mithridates* of *Bosphorus*, as he was roving up and down, after having lost All, got Intelligence, That *Didius* the Roman General was retired with the Gross of his Army, and that *Cotys* (as yet unskill'd in the Trade of War) was left in the New Conquests, and that *Julius Aquila*, a Roman Knight, had but a small Body with him, raises the Country in contempt of 'em both, and brought several Deserters over to him, and

when he had form'd an Army, march'd against the King of the *Dandarides*, routed him, and possess'd himself of his Kingdom. When this was known (for it was expected he would forthwith march into the *Bosphorus*) *Aquila* and *Corys*, not daring to trust to the Forces they had with 'em, because *Zorfines* King of the *Soraci* had taken up Arms afresh, thought it expedient to send an Ambassy to *Eunones*, a Prince of the greatest Reputation among the *Adorsi*; and 'twas no difficult thing to bring him into the Alliance, the Question being the Power of *Rome* against the Rebel *Mithridates*. Upon this 'twas concerted, that *Eunones* should command the Horse upon the day of Action, and the *Romans* attack the Towns.

16. When the Line of Battel was form'd, the *Adorsi* march'd in Front and Rear, the *Cohorts* and *Bosphorans* in the main Body, arm'd after our Fashion. In our March we push'd the Enemy, and reach'd *Soza*, a Town of *Dandaria*, which *Mithridates* quitted, and we thought advisable to keep, and leave a Garrison in it, because we were not sure of the Burghers. After that, we continued our March against the *Soraci*, and passing the River *Panda*, invested the City *Uspes*, situated upon an Eminence, and defended by a Wall and Ditch, but the Walls not being built with Stone, but made of pieces of Timber, with Earth betwixt 'em, were too weak to oppose the Besiegers, who having rais'd their Works so high as to command the Town, threw Darts and lighted Torches from thence, which made the besieged so uneasie, and put 'em into such Disorder, that if the Night had not come on too fast, the Town had been besieged and taken the same day.

17. The next day they sent to demand a Pardon for the Gentlemen, and at the same time offer'd to give up Ten thousand Slaves; which the Victors refus'd, because 'twould have been barbarous to have put 'em to Death in cold Blood, and dangerous to keep such a

num-

number of Prisoners, who, they thought, should rather dye in their Calling; and the Soldiers, who had already scal'd the Walls, had Orders to give no Quarter. The taking of this Town struck such a Terror into the rest, who thought nothing now was secure, since Arms, Ramparts, Defiles, and Situation were of no defence, and that Rivers were pass'd, and Cities forc'd so easily. *Zorfines* therefore reflecting with himself, whether 'twas his Interest to concern himself in *Mithridates*'s declining Affairs, or look after the Kingdom his Father left him, resolv'd upon the latter, and after Hostages given, threw himself at the Foot of *Caesar*'s Image, with great Glory to the *Roman* Army, which march'd victoriously, and without putting any Soldier to Death, (as all agree) for three days, by the River *Tanais*; but in their March back, they had not the same good Fortune, for some of their Vessels, in their sailing home, were driven upon the Coast of the *Tauri*, and surpriz'd by those *Barbarians*, who killed the Commander of a Cohort, and several Centurions.

18. In the mean while *Mithridates*, despairing of mending his Condition by the Sword, was thinking whom he should fly to for Mercy. He did not care to throw himself upon his Brother *Corys*, who had betray'd him once before, and was his Enemy now; and no *Roman* General was of weight enough, upon whose Parol he could with safety rely. At last he address'd himself to *Eunones*, (who was not his Enemy upon his own account) who, upon his new Alliance with us, had the most Interest, and with Looks and Dress suitable to his Condition, entred the Royal Palace, and falling at his Feet, See here, says he, *Mithridates*, of his own accord, whom the Romans have fought by Sea and Land, for so many Years. Use the Offspring of Great *Achemenes*, which is all his Enemies have left of him, as you please.

19. *Eunones*, mov'd with the Fame of the Man, the Turns of Fortune, and his Prayer, that bespoke a Noble and Generous Soul, rais'd him up, and commend- ing him for throwing himself upon the *Adorſt*, and rely- ing upon them for his Pardon, dispatched Ambassa- dors with Letters to *Cæſar*, to this effect; *That an Equality of Greatneſs was the firſt Motive that induc'd the Roman Emperors to enter into Treaties with other Prince;* but that betwixt him and *Claudius* proceeded from a Victory gain'd, in which they had equal ſhare: *That was the beſt War that ended in Mercy.* For this reason *Zorſines* loſt no- thing, tho' he was conquer'd. As for *Mithridates*, (tho' he deſerv'd a worſer Fate) he neither ask'd his Kingdom, or any Command for him, but only that he might not be put to Death nor led in Triumph.

20. But *Claudius*, tho' he always carried himſelf ve- ry well to the foreign Nobility, hesitated whether he ſhould take the Priſoner upon Condition to ſpare his Life, or demand him by force of Arms. On the other hand, 'twas very uneaſie to think how he had been dealt with by him, and the Pleaſure of Revenge was ſweet: But when he reflected, "That the War muſt be made "in a Country where the Ways were impracticable; "no Ports upon the Coaſt for the Safety of his Fleet; "againſt barbarous Kings; a ſtrolling People, that had "no fix'd Habitation; no Forrage nor Fruits; the Fa- tigue while they ſtaid in the Country, and Danger in "retreating; the little Honour to be gain'd if they "conquer'd, and eternal Shame if they were repulſ'd: "Upon theſe Conſiderations he thought 'twas beſt to "embrace the Offer, and keep the baniſh'd Prince "alive, who would endure the more Miſery the lon- ger he continued in that Condition, and immediately "writ to *Eunones*, That he was ſatisfied *Mithridates* deſerv'd Exemplary Punishment, and 'twas in his "Power to execute it; but his Anceſtors had thought "fit to ſhew themſelves as Obſtinate to their Enemies

" as

" as they were gentle to thoſe who rely'd upon their "Mercy, for Triumphs were over whole Nations, and "not ſingle Perſons.

21. Upon this *Mithridates* was given up, and car- ried to *Rome*, by *Junius Colon* Governor of *Pontus*, where he talk'd to *Cæſar* bigger than was decent for one in his circumſtances, and what he ſaid was reported to the People in theſe terms; *I was not ſent to you, but came o my own accord; and if you doubt it, let me go, and find me if you can.* Nor was he at all daunted, when he was carried with a Guard to the *Roſtra*, and ſhew'd to the People. For this Service *Cito* had the Conſular, and *Aquila* the Prætorial Enſigns given him.

22. Under the ſame Conſuls, *Agrippina*, cruel to thoſe ſhe hated, and incens'd againſt *Lollia*, becauſe ſhe had been her Rival in the Prince's Affection, ſuborn'd ſome Villains to accuſe her of conſulting the *Caldean* Magicians, and *Apollo's* Shrine at *Claros*, concerning the Emperor's Marriage. *Claudius*, without hearing the Accuſ'd, expatiated, in a full Senate, upon her Extra- ction; That ſhe was the Daughter of *L. Voluſius's* Siſter; That *Cotta Meſſalinus* was her Great Uncle by the Father's ſide; That ſhe had formerly been married to *Memmius Re- gulus*, (induftriouſly forgetting her Marriage with *C. Cæſar*) yet ſhe was dip'd in matters of pernicious conſequence to the Government, and the Subject-matter was to be removed; wherefore ſhe muſt depart Italy, and her Eſtate be confiſca- ted. And the Exil'd Lady had but Fifty thouſand Se- ſterces reſerv'd to her out of that vaſt Wealth ſhe was once Miſtreſs of. *Calpurnia*, a Lady of Quality's Fortune, was ruin'd, becauſe the Prince accidentally, and not out of any liking he had to her, prais'd her Beauty; and *Agrippina* never left her till ſhe brought it about. A Tribune was ſent to diſpatch *Lollia*, and *Cadius Rufus* was convicted of Extortion, upon the Ac- cuſation of the *Bithynians*.

23. In consideration of the great Respect the *Narbonese Gaul* shew'd the Senate, the Senators of that Province had the Privilege, without asking the Emperor's Leave, of going to see their Estates, as those of *Sicily* had. The *Itureans* and *Jews*, upon the death of their Kings, *Sohem* and *Agrippa*, were added to the Province of *Syria*. The Senate order'd the *Augury of Health*, which had been discontinued for Five and twenty Years, to be renew'd and observ'd for the future: After that, *Cæsar* enlarg'd the *Pomerium* of the City, according to Custom, which empower'd those who extended the Limits of the Empire, to enlarge likewise the Bounds of the City, which no *Roman* Generals, though they had conquer'd vast and powerful Countries, ever yet attempted, besides *L. Silla* and the Divine *Augustus*. The Motives of Glory and Ambition that put our Kings upon it, are variously spoken of.

24. But however, it mayn't be thought absurd to say something of the Original Occasion of Building, and the *Pomerium* that *Romulus* first laid. The Ground on which the Town was design'd to be built was broke, from the Ox-market, where we see the Figure of a Brazen Bull, (because that Creature is used in Plowing) that it might take in the great Altar of *Mercurus*; from thence were Stones set up, at a certain space, from the Foot of the *Palatin* Mount to *Consus's* Altar, after that, to the old *Curia*, and in process of time to the Chapel of the *Lares*; and the *Forum Romanum* and *Capitol* were not added to the City by *Romulus*, but *T. Tatius*, as some have thought; afterwards, as the State flourish'd, the City was enlarg'd. What Bounds *Claudius* put to it are easily known, because 'tis Register'd in the public Journals.

25. Under the Consulship of *C. Antistius* and *M. Silius*, *Cæsar* was spurrd on to adopt *Domitius*, by the Authority and Credit of *Pallas*, who, being always in *Agrippina's* Interest, as having been the Promoter of the

the Promoter of the Marriage, and since in a closer Tye of her Gallant, press'd *Claudius*, to take care of the Commonwealth, and support *Britannicus's* Youth with Strength and Power; That in *Augustus's* Time his Wife's Sons had Court made to 'em, tho' he had Grandchildren of his own, and *Germanicus* was adopted by *Tiberius*, tho' his own Sons were living; That therefore he too should take in his Son, to share, in some measure, the Burthen of the Empire with him. Convinced by these Examples, he order'd *Domitius*, but two Years older than his own Son, to take the hand of him, having first made a Speech to that purpose, as he receiv'd it from his Freed-man. The Politicians of that time observ'd, that this was the first Adoption that ever was made into the *Patrician* Family of the *Claudii*, which always went in Succession since *Attus Clausus's* time.

26. However, the Senate return'd the Prince Thanks with new and exquisite Flattery, upon *Domitius's* account, and a Law was propos'd, That he should be adopted into the *Claudian* Family, and be called *Nero*; At the same time *Agrippina* was surnamed *Augusta*. When the People saw this, there was not one but was touch'd with *Britannicus's* hard Usage, who being by degrees abandoned by those who formerly served him, and that made their Unreasonable Court to his Mother-in-law, found himself grown ridiculous, and served only for a Cypher at Court: Nor was he of that Indifferent Understanding and Parts as some say; whether it was true, or that the commiseration of his Condition wrought upon the People, to have a better Opinion of him than he really deserv'd, without having ever given any pregnant Proofs of it.

27. But *Agrippina*, to shew the Allies the Authority she had, commanded the *Veterans* and a Colony to be sent to a \* Town of the *Ubii*, where she was born, and was called by her Name; \* *Cologne*. and it happen'd that her Grandfather *Agrippa* put that

People under his Protection, when they passed the Rhine. At the same time there were Commotions in Upper Germany, by reason of the Inroads and Incursions the Catti made; upon which, *L. Pomponius* the Governor order'd the Auxiliaries, the *Vangiones* and *Nimeta* \*, with the Horse that wing'd the Army, to get before the Robbers, or if they were drawn off, to try to surround 'em, before they could know any thing of our March. The General's Enterprize and Advice were seconded by the Soldiers Diligence in the execution of 'em; for, dividing themselves into two Bodies, those who march'd on the Left surpriz'd 'em, just as they returned from making their Incursions, drunk and asleep. The Joy for this Success was the greater, because by it they redeemed some of their Countrymen from Slavery, who were taken Forty Years ago, when *Varus* was defeated.

28. But those who marched on the Right, found a shorter cut, met the Enemy, who dar'd give Battel, and made a great Slaughter amongst 'em; and when the business was over, returned to Mount *Taurus* with Glory and Plunder, where *Pomponius* with the Legions halted, expecting the Catti, who, he thought, would be desirous to revenge their Loss, and give 'em an Opportunity to fight him: But they, fearing the *Romans* on one side, and the \* *Cherusci*, with whom they were always at Enmity, on the other, sent Ambassadors and Hostages to Rome; where a Triumph was decreed *Pomponius*, which was the least of his Reputation, being better known to Posterity by his Works of Poetry.

29. About the same time *Vannius*, whom *Drusus Caesar* made King of the \* *Suevi*, was driven out of his Kingdom. At first he was very acceptable to his People, but his long Reign made him so intolerably proud and haughty, that his Neighbors, and even his own Domesticks, betrayed him.

The Heads of this Conspiracy were *Jubileus* King of the \* *Hermunduri*, *Vangio* and *Sido*, *Vannius's* Sisters Sons: Nor did *Claudius*, tho often urged to it, take the advantage, while these Barbarians quarrel'd amongst themselves, but promised *Vannius* a safe Retreat, in case he was forced to quit his Kingdom, and writ to *P. Atillius Hister*, Governor of *Pannonia*, to post a Legion, and the Troops that were raised in the Country, all along the *Danube*, to be ready to joyn the beaten Party, and strike a Terror into the Victors, to prevent their giving us any Jealousie by their Successes.

The *Ligians* and other Nations poured in, in vast numbers, upon the Report of the Spoil they should meet with, which *Vannius* for Thirty years had been amassing by Incursions and Impositions; his Army consisted of his own Foot, his Horse were *Sarmatian Fazyges*, but not strong enough to face the Enemy, which induced him to keep within his strong Holds and Fastnesses, and by that means protract and spin out the War.

30. But the *Fazyges*, who could not endure the Thoughts of a Siege, ranged up and down the Country, and compelled *Vannius*, out of necessity, to come to a Battel, because the *Ligians* and *Misnians* were ready to enter the Country on that side. *Vannius* therefore quits his Forts, fights, and loses the Day, but however gain'd a Reputation, by venturing his Person bravely in the Battel, where he received a Wound in his Breast, and afterwards made his escape in a Boat that waited for him upon the *Danube*: And those of his Party and Vassals who followed his Fortune, had Lands given 'em in *Pannonia*, where they settled. *Vangio* and *Sido* divided his Kingdom betwixt 'em, and proved themselves faithful to her Interest; beloved and ador'd by their Subjects, (whether it be the Temper and Genius of those

\* Those of *Misnia*, a Country that belongs to the Elector of *Saxony*.

in Slavery) while they aspir'd to Empire, and hated by 'em when they obtained it.

31. On the other side, *P. Ostorius*, the Proprætor, found matters in *Brittany* in an ill condition, the Enemy having invaded the Territories of our Allies with great Impetuosity, the rather, because this new General, unacquainted with his Army, would not, just upon his arrival, and at the beginning of Winter, take the Field to Oppose 'em: But having found by Experience, that the first Attacks either encourage or intimidate, drew out his Men into the Field, and cutting to pieces all that opposed him, pursued those that fled, that they might not get into a Body and rally again; and that neither he nor his Troops might be in any Danger, by their breaking this patch'd-up Peace, he disarm'd all those he suspected, and built Forts all along the *Severn* and *Avon*, to hinder 'em from passing those Rivers. The *Iceni* were the first that Opposed it, a Brave and Warlike People, who had not been yet harassed with the War, because they came freely into our Alliance: Upon their Instigation all the neighbouring People chose an enclosed Country for the Field of Battel, secured by a Ditch and Defiles, that the Horse might not break in upon 'em. Tho' the Roman General had not the Gross of the Legions, but only some Confederate Troops with him, he prepared to force their Camp, and posting the Foot as he thought convenient, order'd the Horse to dismount, and do the Duty of Foot. Upon the Signal given, they forced their Intrenchments, and put the Enemy into Disorder within their Works, who finding they were likely to be treated as Rebels, and no way left of retreating, stood to it, and did Wonders; in which Action *M. Ostorius*, the General's Son, had the Honour of saving the Life of a Roman Citizen.

32. This Defeat of the *Iceni* confirmed those who doubted whether they should make Peace or carry on the War; and the Army marched against the *Cangi*, whose Country had been wasted and plunder'd; Fellows that dar'd not meet an Enemy in the Field, but lurk'd in Woods, to surprize our Parties, and yet were always beaten whenever we met 'em. And now the Army was advanced as far as the Coast that lies over-against *Ireland*, when the Differences amongst the *Brigantes*, called the General back, resolved to enter upon no new Expedition till all things were quiet; and they too, after some of the Ringleaders were killed, upon promise of their Pardon, laid down their Arms, and went quietly home. The *Siluri* could not be kept within their Duty, neither by good or ill Treatment, wherefore 'twas thought convenient to send the Legions to keep 'em in Subjection; and that it might be done with all the Expedition imaginable, a Colony of Veterans, called \* *Camalodunum*, was order'd into the Conquer'd Country, to bridle in the \* *Colchester*. Rebels, and instruct the Allies in the Laws and Customs of the Nation.

33. After this, we marched towards the *Siluri*, who rely'd upon their own Brutal Courage, and *Caractacus*, whose sometimes good and sometimes ill Fortune, had gained him the Reputation of being the best General among the *Britains*: But he, inferiour to us in Number, tho' he had the better of us in Cunning and Knowledge of the Country, carried the War into *North-Wales*, and being joyn'd by those who were afraid the Peace would not last long, resolved to try his Fortune once more, having taken the Ground that was very advantageous to him, and which would incommode us. Where-ever the Mountains were passable, he ordered great Stones to be rolled down to hinder our March; and his Camp was fortified by a River, whose Fords were uncertain, and his best Troops posted to guard it.

34. Besides this, the Generals rid about the Ranks, to encourage their Men with Assurances of Victory, and other Incitements of War. And *Caractacus*, who was every-where in Person, told 'em, *This Day, and this Army must recover their lost Liberty, or they must expect to be Slaves for ever*; and invoc'd the Names of his Ancestors, who had beat the Dictator *Cesar* out of the Island, whose Valour had exempted 'em from *Roman* Servitude, and to whom they ow'd the Enjoyment of their unviolated Wives and Children. The Army hearing this, began to shout, and entring into an Association, swore by the Gods of their Country, *They'd stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes*.

35. The *Roman* General could not tell what to think of this Cheerfulness of the Enemy; the River before him, the Mountain fortified, the Eminencies that commanded his Camp, the Enemy advantageously posted every-where, put him into a Consternation, till the Soldiers unanimously cried out, *Let's fight, nothing can stand against us*. The General and the other Officers, being of the same Opinion, the Army took fresh Courage, and *Ostorius* viewing where they could be broke into easiest, commanded those who were hottest for the thing, to pass the River, which they did, without any great Difficulty or Opposition. When we were advanced to the Parapet, and Arrows only could be made use of against it, we had a great many Men kill'd and wounded.

But when we march'd under covert of our Targets, and level'd that rude and indigested heap of Stones, and the Men being pretty equal in number on both sides, the Enemy retreated to the top of the Mountains. Thither the \* Slingers, and those that had Armour on, pursu'd 'em; They attack'd 'em with their Arrows; These kept their Ranks close, and broke the *Britains* easily, 'cause they wore no sort of Armour: if they made any stand

\* *Miles Feren-  
tarius*.

stand against the Auxiliaries, the Legionaries fell upon 'em with their Swords and Javelins; if they made head against them, the Auxiliaries mow'd 'em down with their broad two-handed Swords. This was a glorious and compleat Victory; *Caractacus's* Wife and Daughter were taken Prisoners, and his Brothers surrender'd at discretion.

36. He (as most Men are unsafe in Adversity) Suing for Protection at *Cartismandua's*, Queen of the *Brigantes*, Court, was seiz'd and sent to the Conqueror, nine Years after the War in *Britany* broke out: This made his Fame spread throughout the Islands, and reaching the adjacent Provinces, was celebrated in *Italy*. All coveted the sight of that Man, that for so many Years despis'd our Forces; insomuch that even in *Rome* his Name was held in Veneration; and *Cesar*, while he extoll'd his own, made the vanquish'd General's Glory shine the brighter. The People were summon'd to see him, as a Sight; the Guards were drawn out into the Field that lies before the Fort they kept Garrison in, and after all the Emperor's Slaves were passed by, his Caparisons, Chains, and Medals, and whatever he had enrich'd himself with in foreign Wars, were carried in triumph; after them, his Brother's Wife and Daughter; and last of all, himself. Their Fear made them ask what was mean and inglorious; but *Caractacus*, without being dejected in Countenance or Speech, only desir'd 'em to pity him, and when he was come up to the Throne, spoke in this manner:

37. *Had my Discretion in my better days been equal to the greatness of my Birth, I should have appear'd here as a Friend, an Ally, and not a Prisoner; nor would you, Sir, have thought it beneath you to have treated with a Prince descended of Noble Ancestors, and who once commanded many Nations. My present Condition, as it seems to me ill-favoured and dishonourable, without doubt, must needs add to your*  
Glo-

Glory. *I once had Horses, Men, Arms, and Money at my command, and 'tis no wonder I'm depriv'd of 'em all against my will: If Rome aspires at Universal Empire, does it follow that the World must of necessity truckle to her? Had I surrender'd my self up to you at first, 'twould not have added to my Fortune or your Glory, and I had been forgot as soon as dead; but if you spare my Life now, I shall live an everlasting Instance of your Clemency.* Whereupon *Cæsar* pardoned him, his Wife and Brothers, who when their Chains were taken off, address'd themselves to *Agrippina*, who was seated upon another Throne not far off, and complemented her in the same manner they did the Prince. This was the first time a Woman ever sat amongst the Roman Standards: But she, to justify it, call'd her self Partner of that Empire her Ancestors had got by the Sword.

38. The Senate magnified the taking of *Caractacus* mightily, and declar'd this Action as worthy to be recorded as the taking of *Siphax* by *P. Scipio*, or *Perfes* by *L. Paulus*, or any other Kings made Prisoners by our Generals in former days. *Ostorius* had the triumphal Ornaments decreed him, who hitherto was the Darling of Fortune, tho' afterwards she deserted him: whether it was that they looked upon the War as at an end, since *Caractacus* was sent to Rome, or that the Enemy, commiserating the Fortune of so great a Prince, were eager to revenge his Cause; they surrounded the Quartermaster-general, and the Legionary Cohorts that were left behind to cover the Forts that were building to bridle the *Silures*, and had cut 'em all off, had not some Troops been sent to their assistance from the neighbouring Forts and Garrisons. The Commander in chief, with eight Centurions, and the most advanced of the *Manipuli* fell in the Action; and some time after our Foragers, with the Party that succor'd 'em, were beaten into the Camp.

39. *Ostorius* order'd some Cohorts to leave their Baggage behind, and pursue 'em, but could not have stopp'd 'em, had not the Legions sustain'd the Charge, whose Courage made the Battel equal at first, but turn'd it at last on our side. The Enemy retreated with little loss, because the Sun was setting. From that time we had frequent Skirmishes with 'em, rather like Outlyers than Soldiers, because we generally met one-another in Woods and Morasses, as Chance or Courage led us; sometimes without any prospect but Revenge, or on purpose in hopes of Plunder; one while by the General's command, at other times without any. The *Silures* were the most obstinate, being provok'd by an Expression the Emperor let fall, which was believ'd amongst 'em, *That as the \* Si-*  
*cambrians were transplanted into Gaul, so the*  
*Race of the Silures should be entirely cut off.*

\* Those of  
Guelderland.

Two Auxiliary Cohorts were surpriz'd, as they were plundering the Country without Discretion, occasion'd by the greediness of their Commanders; and by giving away the Booty and Prisoners they took, they made the neighbouring Nations revolt from us, whilst *Ostorius*, tir'd with the Fatigue of Affairs the War brought upon him, dy'd: The Enemy were glad of it, that the War was the occasion, tho' no particular Battel, of the loss of so great a Captain.

40. *Cæsar* receiving Intelligence that his General was dead, sent *A. Didius* to command in his place, that the Province might not be without a Governor; who made all the expedition he could to his new Government, but found matters in no good posture, the Legion that *M. Valens* commanded having been routed. The Enemy made the Loss greater than it really was, to surprize and confound the new General: He too magnified it, that he might have more Honour if he redress'd the Disorders it occasion'd; or if they grew higher, the Blame might not be laid upon him.

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The *Silures* did us a great deal of damage by their Parties, till *Didius* march'd against 'em, and push'd 'em into their Camp. *Venusius* was the best General, now *Caractacus* was gone, the Enemy had, of the City of the *Jugantes*, who, as I said before, continued a long while faithful to us, and under our protection, while he liv'd with his Queen *Cartismandua*; but since their divorce, and a War following, fell off from us. The War, at first, was only betwixt them two, who by her Artifice and Cunning surpriz'd his Brother and Relations. The Enemy enrag'd at this, and provok'd with the Disgrace of being govern'd by a Woman, threaten to invade her with a numerous Army of choice young Fellows; which we foresaw, and therefore sent a strong Detachment of Foot to reinforce her, who fought it bravely, and turn'd the Day, which at first was doubtful, on our side. The Legion that *Cesius Nasica* commanded, charg'd with like Success. *Didius*, pretty well advanc'd in Years, and in fulness of Glory, contented himself barely with doing his Duty, and pushing the Enemy with the assistance of others. Tho' these things were doing by the two Generals, *Ostorius* and *Didius*, several Years, however I have ventur'd to put 'em together, lest they might be forgot if they were divided. Now I return to the Order of Time.

41. *T. Claudius*, the fifth time, and *Sergius Orfitus*, being Consuls, the time was thought lost till *Nero* put on the Virile Gown, to capacitate him for Governments in the Commonwealth; and *Cesar* swallow'd the Senate's Flattery glibly, "That *Nero* should enter upon the Consul's Office at Twenty Years old, and "in the mean while being declar'd so, should enjoy "the Proconsular Authority out of the City, and be "received as Prince of the Youth. And a Donative was given in his Name to the Army, and a Large's to the People. At the *Circensian Games*, which were exhibited to win the Peoples Affection. *Britannicus* appear'd

ear'd in his Pretexta, and *Nero* in his Triumphal Habit, that the People might see one in Imperial Splendor, and the other in his Boys Dress, and from thence make a Judgment of their future Fortune. And as for the Centurions and Tribunes, those that shew'd any Concern for *Britannicus's* hard Fate were remov'd from their Commands, upon frivolous Pretences; others, under colour of Preferment: Nay, if any of the Freedmen were found faithful to him, they were discharg'd his Service. As they met one day, *Nero* saluted him by the Name of *Britannicus*, and *Britannicus* return'd it by calling him *Domitius*, which (as it was the Source of the Misunderstandings betwixt 'em) *Agrippina* complain'd of to the Emperor, urging, That the Adoption was despis'd; and what the Senate approv'd of, and the People would have, was made null in his own Family; and, if the Insolence of those who put *Britannicus* upon it were not chastis'd, it might be destructive to the Commonwealth. *Claudius*, enrag'd at this, as he thought it a Crime, banish'd or put to death the best of *Britannicus's* Governors, and put him under the Care of those that were his Mother-in-law's Creatures.

42. But *Agrippina* could not bring about her main Designs till *L. Geta* and *Rufus Crispinus* were remov'd from being joint Colonels of the Emperor's Guards, who, she thought, had Obligations to *Messalina*, and would consequently be in her Childrens Interest. Upon her being of Opinion, that the Men would be more united, and of a piece, and better disciplin'd, if they were commanded by one than two, the Command was given to *Burrhus Afranius*, of great Reputation in the Army, and as yet ignorant to whom he ow'd his Preferment: From that time the Empress began to carry matters with a high hand, enter'd the Capitol in a Chariot; an Honour that was only granted to the Priests formerly. This rais'd the Veneration they had for her,

who was the only Instance of any Woman that was Daughter, Sister, and Wife of an Emperor, and Mother to one that was Emperor. Amongst those who were mark'd out for Destruction was *Vitellius*, who had always been in her Faction; of comely Presence, and venerable for his Years, (by so slender a Thread hangs Great Mens Fortune) upon the Accusation of *Junius Lupus*, a Senator, who charg'd him with Treason, and aspiring to the Empire, which the Emperor was inclin'd to believe, if he had not been beaten off, more by *Agrippina's* Threats than Persuasions, and forc'd to banish the Accuser, and disfranchise him. *Vitellius* contented himself with that Satisfaction for the present.

43. Abundance of Prodigies were observ'd that Year; direful Birds perch'd upon the Capitol, Houses thrown down by frequent Earthquakes; and when the Fear grew more universal, the Sick and Weak were tumbled down and trod upon by the Mob as they ran about. The Scarcity of Corn, and Famine, that follow'd upon it, was look'd upon as a Prodigy. Nor did People grumble in private only, but, while *Claudius* was sitting upon the Bench to do Justice, they broke in upon him, surrounded him, and in a clamorous manner pursu'd him, to the furthest part of the *Forum*, till he made a stand with some Souldiers, and drove the Mutineers back again. Upon enquiry 'twas found there was but fifteen days Provision in the City; but, thro' the Bounty of the Gods and Clemency of the Winter, the City was supplied in its Extremity. Formerly indeed Convoys of Provision were sent from *Italy* to the Provinces that lay distant, but now we chuse rather to fetch it from *Egypt* and *Africa*, tho' we don't want it, to inure our Men to traffick, tho' with the danger of the Seas.

44. The same Year the War that broke out betwixt the *Armenians* and *Iberians* occasion'd Jealousies betwixt us and *Parthia*. *Vologeses*, King of *Parthia*, whose Mother was a *Grecian* Courtisan, enjoy'd the Crown by his Brother's Consent. *Pharasmenes* had been in possession of the *Iberian* Throne a long time, his Brother *Mithridates* was supported in *Armenia* by us. *Pharasmenes* had a Son call'd *Rhadamistus*, of comely Visage and manly Strength, ting'd with his Father's Cunning, and in reputation with the neighbouring Nations, who thought 'twas hard so small a Kingdom as *Iberia* should be kept from him any longer by an old Father; and *Pharasmenes* observing in him a Desire of reigning too early, as he thought, considering his own age, and jealous of the Peoples Love towards the young Prince, drew him from those Thoughts, and put him upon *Armenia*, which, he said, he had put *Mithridates* in possession of when the *Parthians* were beaten out of it, but he must by no means think of gaining it by Force, and that Artifice must be us'd, the easilier to surprize him. *Rhadamistus* pretending some Disgust at Court, as not being able to bear the ill usage of his Mother-in-law, goes to his Uncle, who received him with all the Kindness and Tendernefs, as if he had been his Son, while underhand he manag'd the Nobility to take up Arms when there should be occasion; and *Mithridates*, ignorant of what was doing in his Court, treated him with all the Gallantry imaginable.

45. Upon a pretended Reconciliation, he goes back to his Father, and acquaints him, that every thing that was to be done privately, was ready; the rest Force must finish. *Pharasmenes* in the mean while puts out his Reasons for declaring War, That when he was engag'd in a War against the King of *Albania*, and demand'd Succours of the Romans, his Brother oppos'd it, whereupon he was resolv'd to revenge the Affront, tho' with his ut-  
most Effort. His Son was put immediately at the head of

a great Army, and by hasty Marches enter'd his Country, and drove *Mithridates* before him out of the Field into the Castle *Gorneus*, strongly situated, and garrison'd by our Troops, commanded by the Prefect *Calpurnius Pollio*, and *Casperius* the Centurion. These People knew nothing of what was necessary to be us'd in a Siege, as we did the business of the War in perfection. *Rhadamistus* having in vain, or with great loss, endeavour'd to insult us, laid Siege to the place, and finding he could do nothing against us, brib'd the Governor, who, he was told, lov'd Money, while *Casperius* protested, that he would never give his Consent that an Ally-King and a Country given him by the Romans, should be treacherously sold for Money. But *Pollio* urging the Enemies numbers, and *Rhadamistus* declaring he had his Father's positive Commands, not to stir till he was Master of the place; *Casperius*, after having agreed to a Cessation of Arms, left it, with intent that if *Pharasmaenes* could not be prevail'd upon to make Peace with *Mithridates*, to inform *T. Vinidius Quadratus*, Governor of *Syria*, of the posture of Affairs in *Armenia*.

46. The Centurion gone, *Pollio*, eas'd of one that always had an Eye over him, began to persuade *Mithridates* to treat of Peace, urging the necessity of Brothers living well together; that *Pharasmaenes* was the elder, and had married his Daughter to him, and was *Rhadamistus*'s Father-in-law; that the Iberians would not refuse treating, tho' they were, at present, much superiour in number, and the Armenian Treachery pretty well known; that he had no place of retreat, but a Castle, unprovided of Necessaries for its defence; that he would not demurr upon embracing easie Conditions, and without effusion of Blood, rather than risk all in a War. While *Mithridates* was considering what to do in this juncture, and suspecting the Sincerity of *Pollio* (because he once debauch'd one of his Mistresses) and knew he would do any thing for Money; *Casperius* goes to *Pharasmaenes*, and requires of him to withdraw his

Troops

Troops from before the place; but the King amusing him in publick with doubtful, and sometimes pleasing answers, dispatches a Courier privately to *Rhadamistus* to push on the Siege with Vigor. And *Pollio* had greater Offers made him to betray the place, who underhand corrupted the Garrison to demand a Peace, or otherwise they would have it. Upon which *Mithridates* was forc'd to agree to a time and place to treat, and march'd out of the Castle.

47. As soon as *Rhadamistus* saw him, he ran to him and embraced him with all the Signs of Respect, calling him Father-in-law, and Father, and swore, he would neither dye by the Sword nor Poison: Then he conducted him into a Grove hard by, where he said, a Sacrifice was ready to conclude a Peace in the presence of the Gods. 'Tis a Custom among those Princes, when they enter into an Alliance with one another, to clasp their right Hand, and joyn their Thumbs so hard, that when the Blood is ready to start out, they prick 'em, and then suck each others Blood, and an Alliance so confirm'd is look'd upon as sacred. But he that carried the Irons, pretending his Foot slip'd, catch'd hold of *Mithridates*, and threw him down, and others coming to his assistance, bound him, and carried him away, (a piece of Treachery they themselves were asham'd of.) The People, who felt the smart of his tyrannical usage, began to insult and strike him, while others commiserated the change of such a Fortune; and his Wife, who follow'd at a distance with her Children fill'd the Air with her Cries. They were put into different cover'd Waggons, till *Pharasmaenes*'s Pleasure was known: But he that valued the Conquest of a Kingdom more than a Brother or Daughter, and of a Temper to do any base thing, would not see 'em, and order'd, that they should not be put to death in his Presence. But *Rhadamistus*, to keep his Oath, that they should not dye by Sword or Poison, threw heavy

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Clothes upon 'em, when they were laid down, and to smother'd 'em; and *Mithridates's* Children, because they cry'd at their Parents Murder, were knock'd o'th' Head.

48. But *Quadratus* understanding that *Mithridates* was betray'd, and his Murderers in possession of his Kingdom, calls a Council of War, and laying Matters before 'em, ask'd their Opinion, whether he should prosecute and revenge his Cause. Few of 'em shew'd any great Concern for the Publick, and the majority propos'd what they thought fittest and safest to be done at this juncture, but all agreed, *That ill News that came from abroad, was to be receiv'd with Joy and Gladness. That the Seed of Discord was to be sown amongst 'em, as old Ancestors had formerly practis'd, who made use of Armenia whenever they had a mind to raise Jealousies among the Barbarians. As for Rhadamistus, let him enjoy his ill-got Acquisitions, so he be infamous and hated for 'em, because he more for the Roman Interest, than if he came by 'em honorably.* Every one fell into this Opinion, to shew they did not approve of so base an Act; and lest *Cassius* should alter anything they had resolv'd upon, they sent to *Pharasmenes* to let him know 'twas expected he should draw off from the Frontiers of *Armenia*, and carry his Son along with him.

49. *Julius Pelignus* commanded at that time in *Cappadocia*, whose Cowardise and ridiculous Figure made him contemptible to every-body; but however, he was so happy as to be in *Claudius's* Pleasures, whenever he debauch'd in private. This Man got together a Body of the Provincial Auxiliaries, as if he had a mind to recover *Armenia*; but while he was plundering his Friends as well as Enemies, his own Men deserted him, and the *Barbarians* falling upon him, he was forc'd to retreat to *Rhadamistus*, who work'd upon him so, by the Presents he made him, that without any more ado he put him upon setting up for himself, and declare

declare himself King, while he himself assisted as Author, and his Guard, at the Coronation. When this scandalous Proceeding was known, (that the World might not have the same Opinion of the other *Roman* Generals they had of *Pelignus*) *Helvidius Priscus*, Lieutenant General, was sent with a Legion to quiet 'em as he should see occasion, who passing the Mountain *Taurus* with incredible expedition, settled matters better by Moderation than Violence, and was afterwards order'd back into *Syria*, lest his March might occasion a Jealousie amongst the *Parthians*, and a Rupture betwixt us and them.

50. *Vologeses* thinking he could never have a fitter Opportunity of invading *Armenia*, formerly possess'd by his Ancestors, and now basely usurp'd by a Stranger, raises an Army, with intent to put his Brother *Tiridates* upon the Throne, that none of the Family might be without Sovereignty. At the approach of the *Parthians* the *Iberians* quitted the Country, without striking a stroke for't, and the Cities of *Artaxata* and *Tigranocerta* submitted. The severity of the Winter, slender Magazines, and the Sickness occasion'd by these two Inconveniences, made *Vologeses* desist from any further Enterprize for the present, whilst *Rhadamistus* enters *Armenia* naked of Troops, carrying himself more cruelly to the Inhabitants, whom he look'd upon as Traytors, that would rebel whenever they had an Opportunity; but the *Armenians*, tho they had been accusom'd to Slavery, could bear no longer with him, and besieged the Royal Palace so close, that *Rhadamistus* was forced to fly away on Horseback, and by that means saved himself and his Wife.

51. She, tho' she was big with Child, endur'd the first days Journey as well as she could, for fear of the Enemy, and in consideration of the Love to her Husband; but her Belly was so shook and sore with continual jolting, that she begg'd of him to rid her of her

Fears of Slavery, by a noble Death. At first he embrac'd her and rais'd her up, comforted her, and admir'd the Gallantry of her Spirit, and then again fear'd if he should leave her, some other might find and take her to himself; at last, in a passionate Fit, and us'd to Blood, he drew out his Scymitar, wounded her, and dragg'd her to the Banks of the *Araxes*, and threw her in, that her Body might not be found, while he made all the haste he could to reach *Iberia*, his Father's Kingdom. Some Shepherds casting their Eyes that way, spied *Zenobia*, (for that was her Name) floating in a little Creek of the River, breathing and alive; and guessing by her Beauty she was of some condition, bound up her Wounds, and apply'd what Medicaments the Country afforded, or they could gather in the Fields; after that, they ask'd her her Name, and how she came there, and remov'd her to *Artaxata*, from whence, by Command, and at the Expence of the Publick, she was sent to *Tiridates*, where she was receiv'd and treated like a Queen.

52. *Farfus Sylla*, and *Salvius Otho*, being Consuls, *Furius Scribonianus* was banish'd, being charg'd with enquiring of the *Chaldeans* how long the Prince was to live; and his Mother *Junia*'s Impatience in bearing her Sentence of Banishment aggravated his Crime. *Camillus*, *Scribonianus*'s Father, had formerly rebell'd in *Dalmatia*, and *Cesar* look'd upon it as a piece of Clemency to pardon the Race of one that had been his Enemy: Nor did he live long in Banishment; some said he died casually; others, that he was poison'd. There was a severe Edict made, but what never had any effect, to banish Fortune-tellers out of Italy: After that the Prince made a Speech, in which he highly commended those who, by reason of their small Estates, quitted the Senatorial Order voluntarily; and others were turn'd out, for shewing themselves as impudent as they were poor.

53. A-

53. Amongst other things 'twas debated, in the Senate, what Punishment should be inflict'd upon those Women who married Slaves, and 'twas enacted, That if they married without their Master's Consent, they should remain such; but if with it, they were to be free. *Barea Soranus*, Consul Elect, mov'd, that *Pallas* (whom, *Cesar* said, was the first that brought it into the House) should have the Prætorial Honours, and Fifteen millions of Sesterces, and, that *Scipio Cornelius* might have the Thanks of the House, for that being descended from the Kings of *Arcadia*, he forgot his Birth and Quality, to serve the Publick, and was contented to be one of the Prince's Servants. *Claudius* assur'd 'em, that *Pallas*, satisfied with the Honour the Senate had done him, would still live as retiredly as he used to do. In short, an Act was made, graven in Copper, and fix'd up, in which a Freed-man worth Three hundred thousand Sesterces was commended for living after the ancient Pareimonial way.

54. But his Brother *Felix*, who formerly had been Governor of *Judea*, was not of so moderate a Temper, thinking he might commit all the Irregularities he pleas'd, under the Countenance and Protection of so great a Man. 'Tis certain the *Jews* shew'd a Disposition to take up Arms, when they were satisfied *Caius* was dead, — not having obey'd; and the same Fears possess'd 'em, lest other Princes should command the same thing. In the mean time *Felix* inflam'd Matters, by applying wrong and untimely Remedies, being back'd in what he did by *Ventidius Cumanus*, who was Governor of that part of the Province, which was so divided, that the *Galileans* were under his Care, and the *Samaritans* under *Felix*, who formerly were at Enmity, and even then, despising their Rulers, push'd on their mutual Animosities: Whereupon they made Incursions into one another's Territories, way-laid and robb'd one another; at other times they met in the Field

Field in pitch'd Battel, and brought the Governor the Booty they took. This way of living pleas'd 'em mightily at first; but Affairs growing worse and worse, the Souldiers were sent to suppress 'em, some of which were cut to pieces, and the Province had been the Seat of War, if *Quadratus*, the Governor of *Syria*, had not put a stop to it. 'Twas resolv'd to punish those *Jews*, who had any hand in killing the Souldiers, with Death. *Cumanus* and *Felix* were the occasion of some delay in this, because *Claudius*, upon a full hearing of the Cause, had given Power to Proxies. But *Quadratus* calling *Felix* up to him, as he sat upon the Bench, shew'd, that he was impower'd to enquire into it, and by that means terrified the Accusers; *Cumanus* was condemn'd for what both of 'em were guilty, and the Province remain'd in Peace and Quiet.

55. Some time after, the Peasants of *Cilicia*, call'd *Clite*, (always ripe for Mutiny) possess'd themselves of the *High-lands*, under the Command of *Throsobor*, and encamp'd upon 'em, and making their Incurfions as far as the Sea-shore, or under the Walls of our Towns, pillag'd the Country People and Villages, and sometimes dar'd to attempt the Merchants and Mariners. The Town of *Anemur* was besieg'd, and the Horse that were sent from *Syria*, to their succour, routed, under the Command of *Curtius Severus*; by reason the Country, that was full of Inclosures, was not proper for Horse to draw up and charge in. After that, *Antiochus*, King of that Country, by sweetning the Men up with specious Promises, and tricking their Commander, when the Troops were dispers'd, and *Throsobor* and some of the leading Men amongst 'em being kill'd, reduc'd the rest by Clemency.

56. About that time was presented a Sea-fight, (a Mountain that divided the Lake *Fucinus* and the River *Liris* having been first cut away, that the magnificence

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of the Shew might be seen with greater convenience) as *Augustus* did formerly upon a standing Water on t'other side the *Tyber*, but with fewer Ships than *Claudius*; for he equipp'd a hundred Gallies, with three and four Banks of Oars of a side, and put Nineteen thousand arm'd Men on board 'em. Round the Lake were pieces of Timber, fastned together to keep 'em from floating, but space was left for the Ships to tack, and the Pilots and Captains to shew their Skill, and board one another, as in a Sea-fight. Upon these Planks were posted the *Manipuli* of Foot-guards, and some Troops of the Horse, having some little Breastworks before 'em, over which they could sling Stones or Arrows. The rest of the Lake was crowded with Boats with seamen in 'em: The Banks, the sides and tops of the adjacent Hills were cover'd, as if it had been a Theatre, with multitudes of People that came from the neighbouring Towns and Villages, as well as *Rome*, to see the Diversion, or make their court to the Prince, who had a rich Coat of Mail on, and *Agrippina* in a Gown of Cloth of Gold, sat just by him, where they might both be seen. The Combatants, tho' condemn'd Criminals, went to't as eagerly as the bravest could do, and, after some Wounds on both sides, were restrain'd from killing one another.

57. When the Fight was over, and the Water drained, the ill Workmanship of those who had the management of it was discovered, neither the sides nor the middle of the Lake being dug deep enough; but the Ditches were afterwards enlarged: And, to draw the People together, the Gladiators were order'd to fight upon Bridges that were laid across the Lake, to represent a Battle on foot. A Banquet was likewise order'd, which frightened every-body while they were at it; for the Water running out, made every thing that was next to it (which likewise drew on the rest) move by the rapidity of its course, or else confounded

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'em with the noise. *Agrippina* taking advantage of the Prince's Fears, laid the Blame upon *Narcissus*, who had the care of the work committed to him, and accus'd him of Avarice and Cheating; but, in justification of himself, he laid the Blame upon her unsupportable Pride and unmeasurable Ambition.

58. In the Consulship of *D. Junius* and *Q. Haterius*, *Nero* being sixteen years old, was married to *Octavia*, *Caesar's* Daughter; and, to shew his Breeding and Parts, he undertook the management of the *Ilienſes* Cause, where he set forth, how the *Romans* were descended from *Troy*, and how *Aneas* was the Founder of the *Julian* Family, with other old Stories, that look'd a little Romantic, but deliver'd by him with so good a Grace, that his Clients, the *Ilii*, were exempted from bearing any public Office. The Colony of *Bologna*, which had suffer'd by Fire, had, upon his pleading their Cause, a Hundred thousand Sesterces given 'em towards the rebuilding their City: The *Rhodians* had their Liberty confirm'd to 'em, which was taken from 'em, and restor'd 'em again, as they serv'd in foreign Wars, or forfeited it by Seditions at home: And the *Apamienſes* had their Tribute remitted 'em for five Years, because they had suffer'd by an Earthquake.

59. But *Claudius*, forc'd upon doing a thousand cruel things by *Agrippina's* Instigation, who having a mighty mind to *Statilius Taurus's* beautiful Gardens, puts *Tarquitius Priscus* upon accusing him, and so ruin'd him. This *Priscus*, who was *Taurus's* Lieutenant in *Africa*, upon their return, accus'd him of some little Extortions, but chiefly of Magic: But he, not brooking such Usage, and not being able to endure such an Accusation, kill'd himself, before the Senate gave their Opinion: However, *Tarquitius* was forbid the Court, which the Senate got the Emperor to do, out of hatred they bore to such an Informer, tho' *Agrippina* oppos'd it.

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60. The same Year the Prince was often heard to say, That Judgments in Causes made by those he commission'd should be as valid as if he had given 'em himself; and lest it might seem to have slipt from him by chance, 'twas more fully and clearly enacted by the Senate; for, divine *Augustus* suffer'd Pleadings to be held before the Knights who govern'd *Egypt*, and commanded the Judgments they gave, to be as good as if they had been made by Magistrates at *Rome*. After that, the Knights had power of hearing and determining Causes as well in the Country as the City, which formerly were under the Prætors Cognisance. But *Claudius* gave 'em all that Power and Jurisdiction, which have been the cause of so many Seditions and Mutinies in the State, when by the Requests of the *Sempronii* to the People, the Knights were impower'd to hear Causes. And again, when by the *Servilian* Laws the Judicial Power was lodg'd in the Senate. And for this it was that *Marius* and *Sylla* fought of old, but then the several Orders amongst us were divided in their Interest; those who got the better did what they would, having the Power in their Hands. *C. Oppius*, and *Cornelius Balbus* were the first who by *Caesar's* Authority had the Power of declaring War, or making Peace. It's needless therefore to mention the *Matii* and *Vedii*, and other noble Roman Knights, when *Claudius* made his Freed-men, who look'd after his domestic Affairs, equal to him and the Laws.

61. After that, he took into consideration, whether he should remit the Tribute those of *Cos* paid him, alledging many things concerning their Antiquity, to wit, That the *Argives* under the Conduct of *Cæus*, *Ætæon's* Father, were the first Inhabitants of the Isle; after that, *Æsculapius* landing there, taught 'em the Art of Physic, and was celebrated by their Posterity for it, naming 'em by their Names, and the several Ages they flourish'd in: Nay, he said moreover, that

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*Xenophon*, who was his Physician, was of the same Family, and, out of regard to him, he ought to discharge the *Coi*, for time to come, of all Tribute, that they might live easily in that sacred Island, dedicated to the Service of so Great a God; and, without doubt, a great many good Services, done the *Roman* State, and Victories obtain'd in conjunction with them, might be call'd to mind: But *Claudius*, after his usual Simplicity, never thought of disguising the Favours he granted to one.

62. But the *Bizantins* having obtain'd Audience of the Senate, to take off the Impositions that were laid upon 'em, began to recapitulate former matters, beginning with the Alliance they made with us, when we made War with the King of *Macedonia*, who for his Cowardise was call'd *Pseudo Philippus*. After that, they sent their Army in our Service against *Antiochus*, *Perses*, *Aristonicus*, and had help'd *Antony* in his Wars against the Pyrates, urging their former Offers to *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*, and their late Services to the *Cæsars*, when they were in those quarters, which are the fittest in the World for our Commanders by Land or Sea, and for transporting Provisions and other Necessaries.

63. For the *Greeks* founded *Byzantium* in the extreamest part of *Europe*, on a narrow place that divides *Europe* from *Asia*, who, when they went to consult *Apollo's* Oracle, where they should build a City, the Oracle answer'd, they should look for Ground over against *Blindman's Land*. Under this dark Expression the *Chalcedonii* were meant, as they who were the first that came there, and had an opportunity of observing the Convenience of the Situation, nevertheless chose a worse; for *Byzantium* is situated in a fertile Soil, nigh a Sea abounding with Fish, which in vast quantities come out of the *Pontus*, and being scar'd by the Rocks that lye under the Water, leave the other Coast,

Coast, and swim over to that, and are there taken; which, as it was at first the Cause of their vast Traffick and Profit, was afterwards the reason so heavy Taxes were laid upon 'em, that now they came to petition to be eas'd of the whole, or part: To which the Prince assented, and, upon the consideration of their Sufferings in the *Thracian* and *Bosphoran* Wars, they were exempted from all Taxes for five Years.

64. While *M. Asinius* and *M. Acilius* were Consuls, the frequent Prodigies boded a change of things for the worse: The Standards and Souldiers Tents were burnt by Fire from Heaven, and a Swarm of Bees sett'd upon the top of the Capitol; monstrous human Births were seen, and a Sow farrow'd a Pigg with a Hawk's Pounces. Among the Prodigies were reckon'd a diminution of the number of Magistrates, a Quæstor, Aedile, Tribune, Prætor, and Consul having been swept away in a few Months. But *Agrippina* was most frightened at a word *Claudius* let fall in his Cups, That 'twas his Fate to bear with his Wife's Faults for some time, and then punish 'em; and in this Fright she thought it high time to begin to put her Projects in execution, after having ruin'd *Domitia Lepida*, upon some Woman's Quarrel, because *Lepida*, who was the younger *Antonia's* Daughter, and *Augustus's* Neice, and by this means *Agrippina's* Cousin-German, and her Husband *Cneus's* Sister thought her self as nobly descended as she. Nor was there much difference in their Beauty, Age, or Fortune; both of 'em were lewd, imperious, and scandalous enough, and were as jealous who should outdo the other in Vice, as they were in the other Goods of Fortune. A mighty Contest there was, whether the Mother or Aunt by the Father's side should be best in *Nero's* Graces; for *Lepida* knew how to gain upon him by Flattery and Presents, while *Agrippina* used him roughly, and threatned him, who tho she was willing her Son should govern, could not endure to be commanded by him



65. Besides, 'twas laid to *Lepida's* Charge, that she endeavour'd to win the Prince's Love by Charms and Philtres, and by neglecting to suppress the Insurrection on the Slaves made in *Calabria*, the Peace of *Italy* was in danger; whereupon she was condemn'd to dye, tho' 'twas oppos'd by *Narcissus*, who beginning to suspect *Agrippina* more and more, told some of his Friends, That whenever *Britannicus* or *Nero* came to the Crown, he was sure to dye; That his Obligations to the Emperor were so great, that he would willingly lose his Life in his Service; That *Messalina* and *Silius* had already been convicted, and his Turn was next, if *Nero* should reign, and *Britannicus* succeed him; but while the Emperor liv'd he was in no danger: By the management of the Mother-in-law the Emperor's Family was in Confusion, and more Disorders and Vices seen in it, than if he had not publish'd his former Wife's Lewdness: Nay, the same Family was as debauch'd, since *Pallas* wrong'd the Prince's Bed. Which plainly demonstrated, that she would sacrifice her Honour, Modesty, Body, and every thing to govern. As he was saying this, and such-like things, embracing *Britannicus*, he pray'd the Gods would make him, in a little time, vigorous and strong; and holding up his Hands to Heaven, and then turning 'em to him, That he might live to grow up, and banish his Father's Enemies, and revenge himself upon the Authors of his Mother's Death.

66. While *Claudius* was oppressed with this heavy weight, he fell sick, and was carried to *Sinuessa* for the benefit of the Air, and drinking the Waters: And *Agrippina* long since resolv'd on what she would execute, hastning to lay hold on the present Opportunity, having her Emissaries about her, advis'd with 'em what sort of Poison she should use, lest if it should be too quick and violent, it might be discover'd; if slow, and one that would waste him by degrees, she fear'd, that upon his drawing to his End, and finding how he was us'd, he might be reconcil'd to his Son; and something

thing was thought of that might disturb his Brain, but not kill him quickly. The fittest Instrument for this was *Locusta*, lately condemn'd for poisoning, who was ready to do the Court a Turn upon any occasion: This Woman prepared the Poison that *Halotus* the Eunuch gave her, who us'd to serve up his Meat, and taste for him.

67. This was so publickly known, that the Writers of those Times say, That the Poison was served up in Mushrooms, which *Claudius* us'd to eat often, and that he was not sensible of the strength of the Composition, whether thro' a Drowsiness or Drunkenness, followed by a Loosness, which seem'd to carry it off. *Agrippina*, frightned at the mortal Danger she was in, and resolving to laugh at what those that were by would say of her, made use of *Zenophon*, who was always her Creature, who, as if he was forcing *Claudius* to vomit, was thought, thrust a Feather down his Throat dipt in a certain Poison, knowing well that Villanies begin with Danger, but end in Rewards.

68. In the mean while the Senate was assembled, and the Consuls and Priests went to their Devotions, for the Prince's Recovery, and his Body was covered with his Clothes, and kept warm, tho' already dead, till *Nero's* Succession was secured to him. Then began *Agrippina*, overwhelmed with Grief, and desirous to be comforted in her Afflictions, to embrace *Britannicus*, and call him the very Picture of his Father, and needle him, to keep him from going out of the Forum, and detained *Antonia* and *Octavia* his Sisters, and having shut all the Doors, gave out every now and then, That the Prince was upon the mending hand, that the Souldiers might be encouraged till she found a fit time to declare herself, as the *Chaldean* Divines advis'd her.

69. About Noon, three Days before the Ides of October, the Palace Gates were on a sudden set open, and Nero, accompanied by Burrhus, shew'd himself to the Guard who were upon Duty, who received him, upon their Colonel's perswasion, with Shouts of Joy, and mounted him on a Hand-litter. Some that were by could hardly believe it, and ask'd where was Britannicus; but, seeing there was no-body to oppose him, followed what offer'd: And Nero, carried in the midst of the Garrison, and making a Speech that was proper to the occasion, promises 'em a Donative, as his Father had done, and is saluted Emperor. The Senate joyn'd with what the Army had done, and the Provinces easily fell in with them, and Divine Honours were paid to Claudius, who was buried with the same Pomp and Solemnity as Augustus. Nor would Agrippina be outdone in Magnificence by Livia, her Great-Grandmother. However, it was not thought advisable to open his Will, for fear the People, finding the Son-in-law preferred to his own Son, and Lawful Heir to the Empire, should mutiny.

*The End of the Twelfth Book.*

THE  
ANNALS  
OF  
CORNELIUS TACITUS.

*The Thirteenth Book.*

THE first that fell a Sacrifice to Agrippina, under this new Government, tho' Nero knew nothing of it, was Junius Silanus, Pro-Consul of Asia: Not that his extraordinary Parts hasten'd his Death; for the preceding Emperors look'd upon him, as a dull, heavy Fellow, and despis'd him; insomuch, that C. Caesar us'd to call him, *The Golden Sheep*; but Agrippina, having formerly been the Cause his Brother L. Silanus was put to Death, was afraid he wou'd Revenge it: Because the People began to murmur, saying, *That one grown up to Man's Estate, of unblamable Life, and noble Birth; and, moreover, of the Caesar's Race, ought to be preferr'd to a Boy, that came not fairly to the Empire: For Silanus was descended from Divine*

*Augustus*, in the Fourth Degree: And this was the true Cause of his Death. His Executioners were *P. Celer*, a Roman Knight, and *Albus*, the Freed-Man, who manag'd the Prince's private Revenue in *Asia*, who poison'd him at a Banquet; too notoriously to make a Secret on't. *Narcissus*, *Claudius's* Freed-man, was the next pick'd out for Destruction (of whose Quarrels with *Agrippina*, I have already spoke) who dy'd by close Confinement, and hard Usage, tho' against *Nero's* Will; whose Vices, as yet disguis'd, he wonderfully sooth'd, by his covetous and riotous Way of Living.

2. A Slaughter had ensu'd, had not *Afranius Burrhus*, and *Annaeus Seneca*, put a stop to't: These being the Emperor's Governors, and living well together, tho' in equal Grandeur, had equal Power and Authority, tho' springing from different Means. The Care of Military Affairs was committed to *Burrhus*, a Man of Gravity. *Seneca*, who was always of an easie, affable Temper, taught him Rhetorick; by this means mutually assisting each other, that if the Prince shew'd any Propensity to Debauchery in his Youth, they might suppress his Inclinations, by indulging him in honest, lawful Pleasures. The Game they had to play in Conjunction, was to humble *Agrippina*; who eager in the Pursuit of unlimited Power, had made *Pallas* of her side; who was the Cause of *Claudius's* Ruine, by putting him upon that incestuous Marriage, and fatal Adoption. *Nero* was not a Man to be Brow-beat by his Slaves; and *Pallas*, by his saucy, insolent Carriage, not becoming a Freed-man, grew irksome to the Prince: In Publick, he shew'd all the Respect in the World to his Mother; and when the Officer of the Guard, came for the Word, as is usual, 'twas given, *To the Best of Mothers*. The Senate ordered two Licitors, *Her* to be *Claudius's* Priestess, *Him* to be bury'd as the Censors were, and after *Disfy'd*.

3. Upon

3. Upon the Day of his Interrment, *Nero* made his Panegyrick: While he Expatiated upon the Antiquity of his Family, the Consulships, and Triumphs of his Ancestors: He, and those that heard him, shew'd their Concern: as likewise, when he touch'd upon, His Love for the Liberal Arts and Sciences; and, that, during his Reign, no Foreign Power had been able to hurt the Commonwealth: He was heard with Patience; but when he began to commend his Prudence and Judgment, no Body could forbear laughing; tho' the Speech was very fine, and made by *Seneca*, who had a great deal of pleasant Wit, accommodated to those Times. Old Men, who have little else to do, but compare Things past with the present, observ'd, That *Nero* was the first Emperor, that stood in need of another Man's Eloquence. *Cesar*, the Dictator, rivall'd the top Orators of his Time; and *Augustus* had an easie and ready Way of Talking, which became a Prince: *Tiberius* knew how to weigh what he said, and had the Knack of Speaking much, in few Words; and, when 'twas for his purpose, cou'd give 'em a Double Meaning. Nay, *C. Cesar*, tho' he had not the best Understanding in the World, cou'd be Eloquent upon occasion; and so cou'd *Claudius*, when he had thought upon what he was to speak. *Nero*, 'twas true, turn'd his sprightly Thoughts, even from his Youth, another way; to Carving, Painting, Singing, and Riding Horses; and by the Verses he now and then made, shew'd he had some Smattering of Learning.

4. But when his pretended Grief was over, he came into the House; where, having spoke of the Senate's Power, and the good Understanding there was amongst the Army; he laid before 'em, the Designs, and Examples he propos'd to imitate, of Governing the Commonwealth well: That since he was never engag'd in Civil Wars, nor Private Quarrels, because no Body had done him any Injury; so he had no Ill-will, nor Desire to punish any Body. Then he shew'd 'em the Scheme of his intended Government, leaving

V 3

leaving out those Things, which had so lately given Offence, and said, *He would not take upon him, to decide all Controversies: That a few Favourites might enrich themselves, by confining the Prosecutors, and Criminals: That no Employments shou'd be Sold by him, or given out of Favour only: That he made a Distinction betwixt the Commonwealth, and his own Family: The Senate shou'd enjoy its ancient Rights and Privileges: Italy, and the People's Provinces, shou'd try their Causes at the Consul's Court; and they shou'd introduce 'em to the Senate: As for him, he would take Care of the Army committed to his Charge.*

5. And he was as good as his Word: For great Regulations were made, by the Senate's Advice; as, *That no Body shou'd take any Money, or Bribe, for Pleading; nor the Questors, Elect, be oblig'd to give the People, the Gladitators Show.* Which the Senate obtained, (tho' Agrippina oppos'd it with all her Power, as tending to destroy, what Claudius had done); who were sent for to Court, that the Doors being shut, she might, behind the Curtain, over-hear all, and not be discover'd. For one Day, when the Armenian Ambassadors were Pleading their Nation's Cause before Nero, she would have stepped up into the Throne, and sat with him, if Seneca, observing those about him afraid, had not told him, *He shou'd rise, and salute his Mother, that was coming to him.* And by a shew of Duty, prevented this Disgrace.

6. About the end of the Year, News came, *That the Parthians had broke into Armenia, plundered the Country, and drove Radamistus out of it.* Who having often been in possession of that Kingdom, and now forc'd to quit it, gave over the Thoughts, at present, of prosecuting the War. The People, who love to speak their Minds, began to enquire, *Whether a Prince but just past Seventeen, cou'd support the Fatigue of a War, or stave it off any ways? And what cou'd they expect, from One that was under a Woman's Government? Whether the Conduct of a Campaign, or the Siege of a Town, was to be left to the* Ma-

*Management, and Direction of Pedagogues? Others, on the contrary said, 'Twas better so, than that Claudius, old, and lazy, as he was, shou'd be at the Head of the Army, who, they were sure, wou'd be entirely guided by his Slaves: But Burrhus, and Seneca, had given Proofs of their Ability in Business: And what signify'd the Strength of Body, since Cn. Pompeius, at Eighteen, and Octavianus Cæsar, at Nineteen Tears old, sustain'd the Fatigue of Civil Wars? Fortune, and good Counsel, contributed more to make a Prince great, than Arms and Blows: That he wou'd shew 'em plainly, whether those about him were honest or no, if he impartially chose an experienc'd Commander, rather than a rich one, or one supported by Court-Favour.* While this was the Town-talk, Nero ordered, the Recruits that were raised in the adjacent Provinces, to fill up the Legions in the East, to march up, and those Legions to march nearer to Armenia; and commanded the two old Kings, Agrippa, and Antiochus, to get their Troops ready to enter into Parthia, and lay Bridges over the Euphrates. The Lesser Armenia he gave to Aristobulus; and the Province Sophenes, to Sohemus, with the Ensigns of Majesty. Bardanes took occasion to revolt from his Father Vologeses, very luckily for us; and the Parthians retired out of Armenia, as if they had given over the Thoughts of the War, 'till another time.

8. In the Senate, Things were mightily magnify'd, by those who Voted for Processions to be made, upon which Days the Emperor was to wear the Robe of Triumph, and enter the City in Ovation, and his Effigies as big as that of Mars the Avenger, to be put up in the same Temple: Who, besides their ordinary Flattery, rejoyced that Domitius Corbulo had the Government and Care of Armenia; and that now was the Time for Vertue to find its Reward. The Troops in the East were so dispos'd, that part of the Auxiliaries, with two Legions, shou'd remain in Syria, with Quadratus Vinidius, who commanded 'em. Corbulo had as many Legions made up of Roman Citizens and

and Allies, with the Horse and Foot that winter'd in *Cappadocia*; and the Ally-Kings were ordered to obey him, as occasion requir'd: But they were more inclin'd to *Corbulo*, who to establish his Reputation (which is all-in-all at first) by long Marches, met *Quadratus* at *Agea*, a Town in *Cilicia*; who was advancing that way, to prevent *Corbulo*'s entring into *Syria* to command the Army, and by that means create an Interest in the People, because he was tall, and well-proportion'd, and had a lofty way of speaking; and besides his Experience and Knowledge, had the Art of gaining upon 'em by a Shew of Vanity.

9. Both of 'em sent to *Vologeses*, to chuse Peace rather than War; and advis'd him, to send Hostages, for his paying the same Respects to the Roman People, as his Predecessors had done. Whether *Vologeses* had a Mind to make himself as strong as the Romans, or under the pretence of Hostages, to get rid of those about him, who he thought aspir'd to the Crown, he sent the Heads of the Family of the *Arfacidae*. *Vinidius* sent *Hostorius*, the Centurion to receive 'em, who had been to wait upon the King, formerly, upon the same occasion; and *Corbulo* having Intelligence of that, order'd *Arrius Varus*, Captain of a Company of Foot, to receive and conduct 'em. This begat a Quarrel betwixt the Centurion, and the Captain; which not being willing to expose themselves to Strangers, they referr'd to the Hostages, and the Ambassadors that conducted 'em, they declared in favour of *Corbulo*, upon the Reputation he had lately got, and a sort of an Inclination his very Enemies shew'd to his Person. This made a Difference between the two Generals: *Vinidius* complain'd, That the Honour of bringing Things to the pass they were in, by his Advice and Counsels, was taken from him: *Corbulo*, on the other side, averr'd, *The King wou'd never have been brought to give Hostages, if he had not been declared Commander in Chief, in this War; which sowr'd his Hopes into Fear.*

*Nero*, to adjust their Differences, order'd it to be publish'd, That for the good Service *Quadratus*, and *Corbulo* had done the Commonwealth, a Laurel-branch shou'd be added to the Fasces, that were carried before the Emperour.

10. I have put this here, tho' twas continued down to several other Consuls since. The same *Nero* mov'd the Senate, to set up the Image of his Father *Cn. Domitianus*, and the Consular-Ensigns to be given to *Asconius Labeo*, who had formerly been his Tutor; but forbid his own Statues, of pure Gold and Silver, which were offer'd him, to be erected: And tho' the Senate had order'd, the Year shou'd begin in December, the Month *Nero* was born in, he kept to the old Kalendar, and began on the first of January. *Carinas Celer*, a Senator, was acquitted of what his Servant laid to his Charge; as was *Julius Densus*, a Knight, who was accus'd of favouring *Britannicus*.

11. *Claudius Nero*, and *L. Antistius*, being Consuls, the Magistrates us'd to swear to observe Religiously the Ordonnances of their Emperors; the Emperor wou'd not let *Antistius*, as Consul, swear to keep his; for which he was highly extolled by the Senate, for shewing so early a Virtue, in Things of little moment, which one Day wou'd exert itself in greater. He shew'd his Clemency to *Plautius Lateranus*, whom he restor'd to his place in the Senate, which he was expell'd, for Adultery with *Messalina*; and shew'd his good Disposition to Mercy, in several Harangues, which *Seneca*, to shew the good Education he had given him, or it may be his own parts, spoke by the Prince's Mouth.

12. The Pow'r his Mother had over him dwindled away by degrees; and *Nero* fell in Love with *Acte*, a Freed-woman, and made *Otho* and *Claudius Senecio* the Confidants of his new Amour. One of which, to wit, *Otho*, was of a Consular Family, but *Senecio*, a Son of one of *Cesar*'s Freed-men; who at first, without the Mo-

Mother's Knowledge, and since, in spite of all she cou'd do, work'd himself, by degrees, into the Prince's Affections by his Luxury, and secret Ways, that no Body knew, which the best Friends he had, indulg'd him in, and were pleas'd to see him take up and content himself with that Woman; a Thing which did no Body an Injury: For he had the Misfortune to dislike his Wife *Octavia* (whether it be, that we naturally slight what we can have, and eagerly pursue what is forbidden) of an illustrious Family, and of an unspotted Virtue; and 'twas fear'd he might fall into a Vein of debauching Women of Quality, if he was check'd in that Intrigue.

13. But *Agrippina* cou'd not bear that a Freed-woman shou'd Nose her, and a Servant be his Mistress, and storm'd and rag'd as Women are us'd to do on such Occasions; nor wou'd she have the Patience 'till he might see his Follies, and perhaps repent of 'em, or it may be, cloy'd of her in a little. The more she reproach'd him, the more he was exasperated, 'till at last, having given himself up intirely to Love, he threw off all Duty to his Mother, and was manag'd by *Senecio*; whose intimate Friend *Annaeus Serenus*, feigning a Passion for *Acte*, was made use of to disguise the Prince's first Inclinations for her, and in his Name were the Presents, the Emperor privately sent her, publicly receiv'd. Upon this, *Agrippina* was forc'd to change her Measures, and try what Flattery wou'd do upon him; and offered him her Apartment, that was private, to meet his Mistress at, 'cause 'twas not fit a Prince of his Youth and Figure in the World, shou'd expose himself in public; own'd her unseasonable Reprimands, and begg'd Pardon for 'em, and offer'd him all her Riches, not inferior to the Emperor's, and shew'd herself as poor in her Submissions, as she was severe in her Reproofs. *Nero* was not deceiv'd at this Change in her, and his dearest Friends were afraid of the Consequence of

of it; and therefore begg'd of him, *To defend himself from the Malevolence of a Woman that was always Cruel and now False*. It happen'd that *Caesar* saw, one Day, the Robes that the Emperor's Wives and Relations us'd to wear; upon which, he chose out one, and sent it, set with Jewels, as a Present to his Mother, in which he spared no Cost; for what he gave frankly, or any one had a Mind to, was always Noble and Magnificent. But, *Agrippina* would not put 'em on, and bid 'em take Care of the rest; for she found her Son gave only what he had from her; nor were those wanting, who took what she said in a worse Sense, than perhaps she meant it.

14. And *Nero* enrag'd against those whom he thought encourag'd her in her Insolence, removes *Pallas* from the Management of Affairs that *Claudius* gave him; who, by that Means, look'd upon himself a Superintendent of the Empire: And they say, as he was attended by a great many People, *Nero* very justly observ'd, That he was going to resign. *Pallas* had indeed articul'd with *Caesar*, That he shou'd not be call'd to Account for what had pass'd, either against himself, or the Commonwealth: Upon this, *Agrippina* began to threaten, and terrifie the Prince, and tell him to his Face, That *Britannicus* was now grown Man, and able to govern the Empire, he was the worthy and lawful Heir to, which was but grafted on him by Adoption, and which he held at present by his Mother's ill Practices; that she wou'd no longer conceal the Misfortunes of her wretched House; especially the Reasons of her Marriage, and the Poysonings she had a Hand in; by the Providence of Heaven, and her Care, her Husband's Son was yet in being, with whom she wou'd go to the Camp, where surely *Germanicus's* Daughter wou'd be heard against the Upstart *Burrhus*, and the once-banish'd *Seneca*, who with main'd Hand, and Pedagogue's Tongue, were pushing for the Government of the World. Then she held up her Hands at him, upbraiding him with what he had done, and invok'd to her Assistance Divine *Claudius*, and the Manes

Manes of the Silani, things that stood her in no stead. Nero concern'd at this, and considering that *Britannicus* was entring into the Fourteenth Year of his Age, began to reflect upon his Mother's violent Temper on one hand, and his Brother's gentle Nature on the other, which he had shew'd upon several Occasions, and made him be belov'd every-where. It happen'd one Day, at *Saturn's* Feasts, amongst other Diversions, that those of his Age usually amuse themselves with, that upon drawing Lots, who should be King, the Lot fell upon *Nero*; who after having commanded the others to do what they came off well in, he commanded *Britannicus*, To come amongst 'em, and sing a Song; on purpose to expose him; who was so far from knowing how to behave himself in lewd Company, that he was bashful, even in civil. *Britannicus* began boldly a Song, that hinted, *his being put by the Government his Father left him*; which rais'd their Concern the more for him, because the Night, and Debauchery had made 'em lay aside all Dissimulation. *Nero*, convinc'd of the ill Will the People bore him, push'd on his Resolutions against him, urg'd the more to 'em by *Agrippina's* Threats, and because no Crime cou'd be laid to his Charge; nor did he dare to put him to Death publickly, he began to think how he might do it clandestinely; and ordered *Julius Pollio*, a Captain in the *Pratorian* Guards, (who had *Locusta*, who was formerly condemned for Poysoning, and famous for other Exploits, in his Custody) to prepare a Dose of Poyson; for 'twas long since taken care of, that no Body but Villains shou'd be about *Britannicus*. The first Poyson he took was given him by his Governours themselves, which he voided by Stool, because it was not prepar'd strong enough, but qualify'd that it might not work violently in him: But *Nero* impatient of so slow a Villany, threatned the Officer, and commanded *Locusta* to be put to Death, for making him uneasy all the while they

were

were fancying what the People wou'd say, and what Excuse they shou'd make: But upon their assuring him, that he shou'd be as surely dead, as if a Dagger were in his Heart; the Poyson was prepared in *Cesar's* Anti-Chamber, whose suddain deadly Effects had been already try'd.

16. 'Twas a Custom for the Prince's Children to eat with other Noblemens Sons of the same Age with them, near their Parents, but at a Table that was not so well serv'd. *Britannicus* was there at Supper, who had his Taster by him, and because 'twas Customary for him to be serv'd in that manner, and might have given Umbrage to have left it off at that juncture; and for fear the suddain Death of both of 'em might have discover'd the Villany; this was thought of: Something innocent, but very hot, was order'd to be given him to drink, which after 'twas tasted, was presented to him; but it being too hot for him, he order'd cold Water to be put into it, to cool it, into which Poyson was convey'd; which, after he had drank it, pass'd so swiftly thro' his Joynts, that he was immediately out of Breath, and Speechless: Those that sat near him were amaz'd, those who knew not the Cause, ran away: But they who saw further into it than their Neighbours, were at a stand, and look'd intently upon *Nero*. He being Rectine, and carrying himself as if he knew nothing of it, said, 'Twas usual for him to be taken with such Epileptick Fits, which from his Infancy he had been subject to, but he would come to himself again presently. But *Agrippina* shew'd such a Consternation of Mind, tho' she endeavour'd to hide it in her Countenance, that it was plain, neither she nor his Sister *Octavia* knew any thing of it. Then it was she found herself destitute of a Place of Refuge and Succour, and that Parricide was begun: As for *Octavia*, young tho' she was, she had learn'd to shadow her Grief,



Grief, and love for her Brother, as well as her other Passions.

17. After a short Pause and Silence, the good Cheer went on: *Britannicus* was burnt the same Night he dy'd, Care being before-hand taken of what was necessary for his Funeral, which was very indifferent. However, he was Interr'd in *Mars's Field*, in such a violent Storm of Rain, that the People said, The Gods were angry at such a Villany; tho' others excus'd *Nero*, when they reflected upon the Misunderstandings between the Brothers; and that a Throne is a very unfociable Thing. Several, who writ the History of those Times, say, That *Nero* for several Days before his Death us'd him as his Pathick; that his Death might not be thought too precipitated, nor too cruel, tho' hasten'd on, at the Time of Eating, which was sacred, and denying his Sister to give him her last Embraces; and in his Enemies fight, who polluted the last of *Claudius's* Blood, first by Buggery, and then by Poison. *Cesar* excus'd the suddain Performing his Obsequies, saying, 'Twas so ordain'd by the Ancients, that those that dy'd untimely Deaths were bury'd privately, nor were their Relations to be amuz'd with Pomp, and Funeral Orations; and that since he was depriv'd of the Succour he might have expected from his Brother, all his hope was in the Commonwealth: Wherefore, the Senate and People ought to stick by that Prince, who was the last of that Family that was born to Empire.

18. After this he made the Fortunes of those that were most in his Favours, by Presents; nor were there wanting, who found fault with those who put on a Shew of Gravity, and at the same time entred upon the Estates and Possessions of those that were condemn'd as the Spoils of the Enemy: Others said, the Prince forc'd 'em upon it, Conscious to himself of the Ills he had; which he thought wou'd in some measure be alleviated, by obliging those that had any Power:

But

But no Present that he made cou'd soften his Mother's Passion; who embrac'd and caress'd *Octavia*, and call'd her best and dearest Friends often to Council; and tho' she was naturally covetous, was continually scraping up what Money she cou'd to aid her in her Extremities. The Colonels and Centurions were courted by her; the poor *Romans* Virtue and Probity were distinguish'd, as if she was looking out for a Chief, and forming a Party. When *Nero* was inform'd of this, he order'd her Guards to be taken from her; which, as she was Wife and Mother to an Emperor, were given her; and the *Germans*, who had the Honour to do Duty upon her, were dismiss'd; and that she might not be visited by too many, to make their Court to her, he parts Houses, and carries his Mother to that which was *Antonia's*; and, whenever he went to visit her, he went attended with a great many Officers, and after a short Kifs, took his leave of her.

19. Of all Humane Things, the Reputation of Power, which can't support itself, is most unstable and slippery. No Clients were seen at *Agrippina's* Door, nor Visits paid, except by a few Women uncertain, whether out of respect, or to insult her: One of which was *Junia Silana* (who, as I said before, was divorc'd from her Husband *C. Silius* by *Messalina's* Instigation) nobly descended, excessively handsome, and lewd, and who had been a Favourite of *Agrippina's* a long while; but of late upon some private Quarrel, because *Agrippina* had broke off the Match betwixt *Sixtus Africanus* and her; she said, She was a Whore and Old; not that she had a Mind to have *Africanus* to herself; but for fear *Silana*, who had no Children of her own, shou'd leave all she had to him. She, having an Opportunity of being reveng'd, makes *Iturius* and *Calvisius*, her Clients, accuse her, not of old Crimes, and which every Body knew, of going into Mourning for *Britannicus*, and giving out, *Octavia* had Injury done her: But for inciting



inciting *Rubellius Plautus*, who by the Mother's side, was as nearly ally'd to Divine *Augustus*, as *Nero* was to *Rebel*; and by the Means of his Marriage and Power she wou'd invest him with, to invade the Commonwealth. This *Iturius* and *Calvisius* discover'd to *Atimetus*, Freed-man to *Domitia*, who was *Nero's* Aunt; who, glad of such an Opportunity (for *Agrippina* and *Domitia* were inveterately jealous of one another) put *Paris* the Buffoon, and *Domitia's* Freed-man, upon accusing and prosecuting her with all the Rigour imaginable.

20. The Night was advanc'd, and *Nero* pass'd the Remainder of it in drinking, when *Paris* entred the Room; who, without that, had the Priviledge at other times to come in, and whet the Emperor in his Debauches; and putting on a grave Countenance, began to tell the Particulars of what he had heard, which threw *Nero* into such a Fright, that he resolv'd not only to put his Mother and *Plautus* to Death, but likewise that *Burrhus* shou'd be remov'd from his Command of the Guards, because he was a Creature of *Agrippina's*, and advanc'd to that Post by her; and wou'd consequently gratefully remember the Favour. *Fabius Pictus* says, That *Cecina Thufens* had a Commission sent him to Command the Emperor's Guards, but by *Seneca's* Means *Burrhus* kept his Command. *Plinius* and *Cluvius* say, The Colonel was not at all suspected.

21. *Fabius* indeed was intent upon the Praises of *Seneca*, by whose Friendship he flourish'd; we therefore pursuing the Consent of Authors, who have deliver'd things in a different manner, have expos'd them under their Names. *Nero* being full of Fear, and eager to put his Mother to death, deferr'd it no longer than until *Burrhus* promis'd to effect it; if she were Convicted of the Fact: But that every Man ought to have the Liberty to make his Defence, and much more a Parent. That there were no Accusers ready, save one that was an Actor. That he would look upon the Darknests, and the Night spent in Feast-

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ing and all other things to savour of Rashness and Ignorance.

21. Having in this manner allaid the Prince's fear, he went to *Agrippina* to let her know what things were objected against her, that she might refute them, or suffer condign Punishment. *Burrhus* executed those Commands in the presence of *Seneca*. There were also some of the freed Men present, who were to judge of the Words. Then *Burrhus* began with Threats, when he had made an Enumeration of the Crimes and Authors of them; with which *Agrippina*, resuming her former Fierceness, said, I do not wonder at *Silana*, for want of Maternal Affections, since she never was a Mother; for neither are Children so much changed by their Parents, as Adulterers by an unchast Woman: Neither if *Iturius* and *Calvisius*, after having wasted all their Fortune, resume the last Work of the Tear, in taking upon them to be my Accusers: Shall I therefore either undergo the Disgrace of Parricide, or Cæsar's Conscience suffer? For I should give *Domitia* Thanks for the Enmity she has shewed, if she would endeavour to Contend with me in Good-will towards my Son *Nero*. He now makes Plays with *Atimetus* his Minion, and *Paris* the Actor. He was Improving his Fish-ponds at *Bajæ*, while I by my Councils was getting him to be adopted by *Claudius*, the Proconsular Right for him, his Designation to the Consulship, and other things that were previous to his obtaining the Empire. Either let there be a Witness produced, who can make appear, that I have attempted to Corrupt the Guards in the City; to make the Provinces Revolt; or, lastly, to Tempt his Servants or freed Men to act the wicked Fact, or else you do nothing. Could not I have lived if *Britannicus* had been Emperor, or *Plautus* or any other obtained the Supreme Dominion? Truly such Accusers of me are wanting, who could not only lay to my Charge some rash Words, arising from an Excess of Love, but such Crimes, of which, I being a Mother, can be forgiven of none but my Son. Which Words so sensibly affected those that were present,

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sent,

sent, that they presently cheered her up, and thereupon she desired to come to the Speech of her Son; to whom she said nothing in Vindication of her Innocence, as if she were any ways mistrustful, nor of her former Kindnesses, by way of expostulation, to reproach, but obtained Vengeance to be taken upon her Accusers, and Rewards for her Friends.

22. *Senius Rufus* was made Clerk of the Market; the Management of the Plays that were prepared by *Cæsar* was to be committed to *Aruntius Stella*; the Province of *Egypt* was assigned to *C. Babillus*; *Syria* was allotted to *P. Anteius*; but divers Artifices were presently used to elude him from it, and, at length, he was detained at home; but *Syllana* was banished, so were *Calpurnius* and *Iturius*; *Atimetus* was put to death; but *Paris* had so far gratified the Lusts of his Prince, that he escaped. There was no notice taken of *Plautus* for the present.

23. Then *Pallas* and *Burrhus* were accused of consenting, that *Cornelius Sulla*, a Person of Noble Extract and allied to *Claudius*, as being his Son-in-law by the Marriage of *Antonia*, should be advanced to the Empire. One *Petius* was the Author of the said Accusation, a vain Man and notoriously known for his management of Confiscations to the Treasury. But *Pallas*'s Innocence was no more pleasing than his Pride was intolerable: For when his freed Men were mentioned, whom they charged to have been conscious of the Crime, he made answer, That he never did any thing at home in his Family but by Nods with his Head, or Pointing with his Hand; but if any thing required a farther Demonstration, he committed the same to Writing, that he might not familiarize himself with his Servants by speaking to them. *Burrhus*, tho' guilty himself, was one of those that sat Judge upon him; and his Accuser was banished, and the Rolls burnt, which he kept of the cancelled Monuments of the Exchequer.

24. To-

24. Towards the end of the Year the Place appointed for the Cohorts to sit at the Plays, was removed, that there might be a great shew of Liberty granted the People, and that the Soldiers not participating of the Licentiousness of the Stage, might act more candidly, and be thereby tried, as to the retaining of due Modesty, now the Guards were removed. The Emperor purged the City, in compliance with the Answer of the Soothsayers, who affirmed, That *Jupiter* and *Minerva*'s Temples were struck with Thunder.

25. When *Q. Volusius* and *P. Scipio* were Consuls; there was nothing but Idleness to be found abroad, and abominable lascivious Pranks at home, wherein *Nero* himself had a share, as his going up and down the City to Brothel-houses and other places in a disguised mean Habit, having those in his company who were wont to snatch away Peoples Goods as they stood exposed to sale, and to wound such as they met; and their Extravagance went so far, that even *Nero* himself received once a Blow, the Mark whereof he carried in his Face. Then when they came to know, that *Cæsar* was Revelling in this manner, there were greater Injuries offered to Noble Persons of both Sexes, and some used the same extravagant Freedom under *Nero*'s Name, whilst many used the same Folly in particular Companies, and the Night was spent so as if they had been taking a Town. A certain Person, whose Name was *Julius Montanus*, of Senatorial Degree, tho' he had not yet taken the Honour upon him, happened to meet with the Emperor in the dark, and, because he stoutly resisted the Violence that was offered him, but then, coming to know him, begged his pardon, he caused him to be put to death, as one that upbraided him for what he did. But *Nero* grew more timorous for the future, and therefore went guarded with Soldiers and divers Gladiators, who gave way

to the small beginnings of Broils, and such as seemed to be, as it were, private ones; but if they who were injured stood stoutly to it, then the others made use of their Arms, and to this kind of Libertinism turned the Pastime and Favourers of Players into Combatings; and that with Impunity and Rewards from the Emperor, who himself was their Worthy, and, for the most part, looking on at a distance, until at last the People beginning to grow mutinous, and the fear of a greater Tumult, could find out no other Remedy, than the banishing of these Players out of Italy, and to bring the Soldiers to sit again in the Theater, as before.

26. At the same time the Cheats of the freed Men was debated in the Senate, and earnestly pressed, That the Patrons might have a Right to revoke the Liberty of such as should be found Offenders; neither were there those wanting who would censure them. But the Consuls durst not, without the Emperor's knowledge, determine the Matter, but they wrote to him concerning the Consent of the Senate, and that he should be the Author of the Decree, few being of the contrary Opinion, and some being concerned at the rude Behaviour of such as were lately their Bond-men, who were grown to that pass of Licentiousness, *That they cared not how undutifully they carried themselves towards their Patrons, and were so far from regarding what they said unto them, that they clench'd their fists against them, and jostled such as were for having a Law made to restrain them, For what other Redress had an injured Patron allowed him, save to banish his offending Freed-man twenty Miles off to the Coasts of Campania? In all other things they both stood upon equal and indifferent Terms. Some Weapon therefore should be granted the Patron, which the Freed-man should not despise; neither could it be thought any Hardship upon such as were made free, to retain their Liberty by the same Method they acquired it; and that such as were openly convicted of Crimes,*

*Crimes, ought justly be reduced again into the State of Servitude, that such might be retained by Fear whom Benefits could not alter.*

27. Those of the contrary Opinion said, *That the Faults of a few ought to be prejudicial to themselves only, and not derogate from the Privileges common to them all, because they were an extensive Body, that from them many Tribes were taken, Men fit to attend on Magistrates and Priests, as also the City Cohorts; yea, that many Gentlemen and Senators, do make no other Original to themselves of their Extradition, but from thence. If the Freed Men should be separated from the rest, the number of the Free-born would appear but very small. And it was not without cause that our Ancestors, when they divided the Citizens into Degrees and Callings, left Liberty in common: Yea, they had instituted her way of making their Bond-men Free, that it might remain at the Patron's Choice to repent of what he had done, or proceed to grant a new Favour. Those whom he did not Manumise before the Magistrate, by passing under his Wand for that purpose, remained still as it were in the Bonds of Servitude. That every Man should look into the Merits of his Slave, and grant that slowly, which being once conceded could not be revoked. This last Opinion prevailed, and the Emperor wrote to the Senate, that they should privately examine the Cause of the freed Men, as often as they were accused by their Patrons, and derogate nothing from the Privilege appertaining to the whole Body of them. Not long after this, Paris, late Bond-man to Domitian Nero's Aunt, was taken from her, under the colour of Law, not without Disgrace to the Prince, by whose Command Judgment had been pronounced concerning the Freedom of such.*

28. However, there remained a certain Appearance of a free Commonwealth still: For a Difference arising between Vibullus the Pretor, and Antinius Tribune of the People, for the Later's releasing out of Prison certain unruly Favourers of the Stage-players, whom the

Pretor had committed, the Senate approved of what the Pretor did, and censured the other's Boldness; over and above which, the Tribunes were forbid to intermeddle with any thing that belonged to the Pretors, or Consuls Authority, or to cite any before them out of *Italy*, whose Right ought to be determined there by Law. To this *L. Piso*, Consul Elect, added farther, That they should not assume an Authority to punish any in their own Houses; and that the Questors of the Treasury should not before the Expiration of four Months, record the Fines adjudged by them; and that in the mean time it were lawful to controvert the matter, and for the Consuls to decide it. The Power also of the Ediles was much restrained, and an Order made how much those of the higher Degree, as well as the meaner Ones were to take to pawn, or how far they might punish. This gave occasion to *Helvidius Priscus* Tribune of the People, to shew his particular Resentment against *Obultronius Sabinus* Questor of the Treasury, charging him as tho he had too severely enforced the Execution of open Sales of Goods against the Poor. Then the Emperor transferred the Records of the Publick Debts from the Questors to the Pretors of the City.

29. The Form of this Office had been variously exercised, and often changed before. For *Augustus* gave the Senate liberty to chuse the Prefects; but then a Suspicion arising that there were some irregular Proceedings in the Elections, they were chose by Lot out of the Number of the Pretors. But that Method did not hold long, because it was observed the Lot fell often upon such as were least fit for the Charge. Then *Claudius* restored the Questors again to the Office, and conferred extraordinary Honours upon them, lest for fear of offending they should prove slack in their Duty, but there wanted that Authority of Age in many who were invested in that Office, it being the first they had

had ever exercised: And therefore *Nero* made choice for it, of such as had been Prefects, and were Men of Experience.

30. *Vipsanius Lenas* was condemned under the same Consuls, for behaving himself so ravenously in the Province of *Sardinia*. *Cestius Proculus* was acquitted of Bribery, his Accusers forbearing to prosecute. *Clodius Quinquartius*, Captain of the Sailers at *Ravenna*, being accused for debauching *Italy* with his Riot and Cruelty, prevented his Condemnation by Poysoning himself: *Antistius Rebins*, a considerable Person for his Estate and Skill in the Laws, to prevent the Infirmities of old Age, cut his Veins and bled to death, tho he was looked upon as devoid of Constancy enough to die in that manner, who had been so leud with naughty Women. But *L. Calpurnius* died with a great Fame, having lived Ninety three Years, and grown very Rich by just Methods, and escaped the Injuries of those unjust Emperors under whom he lived.

31. There were but very few things remarkable that happened when *Nero* was Consul the second time with *L. Piso*; unless some would think it worth while to fill up Volumes in Commendation of the Foundations laid, and huge Timber employed by *Cesar* in the vast Edifice of the Amphitheater in *Campus Martius*, seeing it is consonant to the Dignity of the People of *Rome* to commit famous Acts into their Annals, and such as those into the Diaries of the City. Moreover *Capua* and *Nuceria*, who were both Colonies before, were now reinforced with a Supply out of the Veterans. Now was there also a free Gift of forty Sesterces a Man bestowed by *Nero* among the People, and four hundred thousand Sesterces to the Publick Treasury; to retain the Peoples Fidelity to him; the Tribute of the fifth and of the twentieth part arising from the Sale of Slaves was relinquish'd by him, but this was rather in Shew than Reality; for when the Seller was

commanded to pay it, he enhanced the Price to the Buyer's loss. *Cæsar* put forth also an Edict, That no Magistrate, or Governour of any Province, should give the People a Show of Fencers, or of any Wild Beasts, or indeed of any such like Diversion; for the Subjects were as much damnified by such Liberalities, as if their Money were taken from them; whilst such Magistrates made the Favour they acquired by such Shows to serve as a Cloak for oppressing and despoiling the People of their just Rights.

32. The Senate made a Decree as well for Revenge to be taken, as for the Security of Persons, which was, That if any Man were slain by his Bond-men, the Punishment was not only to extend to them, but even to such also that had been made Free by Will, and still continued in the same House, who should suffer alike with them. *L. Varius*, sometime Consul, having been formerly censur'd for Extortion and Covetousness, was now restored to his Dignity: And *Pomponia Grecina*, a Woman of Noble Extraction, and *Plautius* his Wife, who was now returned with a small Triumph out of *Britain*, being accused of Foreign Superstition, was remitted to the Judgment of her Husband; who, according to ancient Custom, in the Presence of her Kinred, heard her Cause, and what was alledged against her in respect to her Fame, and pronounced her Innocent. This *Pomponia* lived to a great Age, and in continual Favour; for after that *Julius Drusus's* Daughter, was murdered by the Treachery of *Messalina*, she was seen for forty Years together in no other than Mourning Apparel, and very Melancholly, which she might very well do while *Claudius* reigned, and which afterward redounded to her Glory.

33. Many Persons were accused that Year; among others *P. Celer* was one, at the Information of the Inhabitants of *Asia*, and whose Cause, because the Emperor could

could not acquit him, he prolonged till he died. For, *Celer*, as I have already said, having been active in the Murdering of *Silanus*, the Proconsul, cloaked all his other Villanies under the Greatness of that flagitious Act. The *Cilicians* preferred an Accusation against *Cossutianus Capito*, a Man infamous enough and debauched, who thought to have used the same insolent Behaviour in the Province, as he had done in the City; but finding himself hard pressed upon, he let fall his Defence, and was condemned of Extortion. As for *Lucius Marcellus*, of whom the *Lycians* demanded Resitution, he made such Interest, and had such Favour shew'd him, that some of his Accusers were banish'd, as tho they called the Life of an innocent Person in question.

34. When *Nero* entred upon the Consulship the third time, *Valerius Messalla* was his Colleague in the Office, whose Great Grandfather *Corvinus*, an Orator, some old Men remembred to have been in the same Office with *Augustus* of famous Memory, and *Nero's* Ancestor much in the same degree: But the Honour of this Noble Family was increased by *Messalla's* being given five hundred Sesterces to relieve his inoffensive Poverty. The Emperour also allowed an yearly Pention to *Aurelius Cotta* and *Haterius Antoninus*, tho they had extravagantly spent the Estates left them by their Ancestors. The beginning of that Year introduced an hot War between the *Parthians* and *Romans*, about *Armenia*, which till then had been but with soft and gentle beginnings; the occasion was because *Vologeses* would neither suffer his Brother *Tiridates* to be deprived of the Kingdom wherein he had invested him, nor that he should hold it as a Gift from another Potentate; and *Corbulo* thought it was worthy the Greatness of the *Romans* to have that which *Lucullus* and *Pompey* had once yet recover'd again. As for the *Armenians*, they were doubtful which side to take, and being faithful to neither,

ther, gave an Invitation unto both; but by the Situation of their Country, and Conformity of Manners, they were nearer to the *Parthians*, with whom they having intermarried, and not knowing what Liberty meant, they appear'd more inclined to that Servitude.

35. But *Corbulo* had more to do to overcome the Effeminacy of his Soldiers, than the Perfidy of his Enemies; for the Soldiers removed from *Syria*, being grown lazy and idle, through a long Peace, could hardly endure the use and fatigue of War: It's certain, there were old Soldiers, in that Camp, that had never kept Watch nor Ward, they gaz'd at a Rampire or a Trench as very strange things, they appear'd gay and boish without Head-pieces, and Curasses, being greedy of Gain, and having spent their Time in Towns. Whereupon after he had dismissed such as were old and feeble, he sought for Recruits, which were brought him out of *Capadocia* and *Galatia*: And to them was added a Legion out of *Germany*, with Wings of Horse-men, and some Companies of Foot; and all the Army was kept incamped, though the Winter was so severe, and the Earth so hardned with a Frost, that they could not pitch their Tents, without they toiled hard to dig the Ground; the Limbs of many of them were benumbed with Cold, and many died as they were upon the Guard. And 'tis very observable of one Soldier in particular, that his Hands were so benumbed with the sharpness of the Season, that they fell from him, together with the Burden he carried, as though they had been cut off from his Arms: But *Corbulo* himself appeared frequently amongst them, thin clad, and bare Head, when they were upon their March, and at their Labours, setting himself to Praise the Stout, to Comfort the Fainting, and to set an Example of himself to all of them. But because many to shun the rigour of the Season, and the severity of his Discipline forsook him, he applied himself to remedy that Inconveniency by Severity; for he did

did not pardon the first and second Fault, as in other Armies had been practised; but whoever forsook his Colours, was put to Death without any more ado; and this Experiment was found to be more useful than Acts of Clemency, for there were not near so many that forsook his Army, as when much Mercy had been shewn.

36. In the mean time, *Corbulo* having kept the Legions incamped until the Spring, and posted the Auxiliary Troops in convenient Stations, commanded them before-hand to decline Action: The Charge of the Garrisons he committed to *P. Pactius Orphitus*, who was first Captain of a Legion; and who tho' he wrote to *Corbulo*, that the Barbarians were disorderly and feeble, and that there was a fit Opportunity offered to perform some Exploit; yet he was commanded to keep himself within his Garrison, and to wait for greater Supplies. But not keeping to his Orders, when he saw a few Troops of Horse issue out of the neighbouring Castle, and unskilfully demanding Battle, he encountred the Enemy, and was worsted. And those that should have seconded him, being terrified with that Discomfiture, fled every Man as fast they could to their Hold; which was a very great Trouble to *Corbulo*; who sharply re-buking *P. Pactius*, the Prefects and Soldiers, commanded all to remove their Tents without the Camp. And there kept them in Disgrace, till they were pardoned at the Intercession of the whole Army.

37. But *Tiridates*, besides his own Followers, being assisted by his Brother *Vologeses*, did not now by Stealth, but by open Force infest *Armenia*, spoiling all such as he thought faithful to us; and if any Forces were brought out against him, he shifted off, by flying from one Place to another; being more terrible in Force than Sight. *Corbulo* therefore endeavouring, though in vain, to come to a Battle, and being forced to make War, sometimes in one Place, then in another, as the Ene-



Enemy did, divided his Forces, to the end that his Lieutenants and Captains might Invade divers Places at once. At the same time, King *Antiochus* had notice to invade those Governments next adjoining to him: For *Pharasmanes*, his Son *Rhadamistus* being put to Death for conspiring against him, that he might give a Testimony of his Fidelity towards us, did the more readily prosecute his old Hatred against the *Armenians*. Then the *Insechians*, never before Confederate with us, being now brought over to our side, invaded the hardest Passes of *Armenia*; where all *Tiridates* his Designs were crossed: He sent Embassadors both in his own and the *Parthians* Names, to Expostulate with them, *Why, after having so lately given Hostages, and renewed their Alliance, which open'd the way to new Benefits, he should be driven from the ancient Possession of Armenia.* That was the Reason *Vologeses* was not yet moved to make War, because he had rather debate the Matter by Reason than by Force; but if they should persist in a Disposition to War, the *Artacides* wanted neither Courage nor Fortune, which the Romans had often experimented to their loss. Here upon *Corbulo*, who knew well enough that *Vologeses* was involved with the Rebellion of the *Hircanians*, perswaded *Tiridates*, to submit himself to *Cæsar*, that hereby he might attain to a firm Possession of the Kingdom without Bloodshed, if laying aside a slow and tedious Hope, he would close with that which was present and more stable.

38. Whereupon they resolved, That seeing they did nothing to purpose by Messages towards the making up of a Peace, to appoint Time and Place for an Interview: *Tiridates* proposed to come with a thousand Horse for his Guard; But what number of Soldiers soever *Corbulo* brought, he mattered not, so as they came without Curasses and Helmets, for a better Shew of Peace. The barbarous Treachery was palpable to every Body, much more to an old experienced Captain; therefore a small Number was limited on one Part, and a greater allowed on the other, that the

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Treason might be the better effected; for to oppose armed Men against Horse-men well disciplin'd in the use of their Arrows, would signifie little, tho the number of the former were never so considerable: Yet *Corbulo* making as tho he had not smelt the Treachery, answered, That so publick an Affair would be better debated in the Presence of both Armies; and for that purpose made choice of a Place, one part whereof had Hill of an easie Ascent fit for Battalions of Foot; the other stretched itself out into a Plain, and was convenient to draw out Troops of Horse. When the Day came, *Corbulo* appear'd first in the following Order: He placed the Cohorts of his Allies, and the Auxillaries sent by Kings, in the Wings, and in the Middle the First Legion, among whom he had intermingled three thousand of the Third Legion, which he had sent for a Night from other Garisons, with one Colours only, so that there had been no more than one Legion. *Tiridates* on his part towards the close of the Day, shewed himself aloof off, in a place where he might be better seen than heard: so that the Roman General without another Interview, had commanded his Soldiers to detain every Man to his own Camp.

39. The King either suspecting Fraud because he saw our Men go at once to divers Places, or having a Design to intercept our Provision that was coming up from the Sea of *Pontus*, and the City of *Trapezunc*, moved hastily off: But he failed in his Design upon our Victuals, because it passed over Mountains possess'd by our own Garisons. And *Corbulo*, that he might not protract the War to no purpose, and to the end the *Armenians* might be forced to defend their own, made things ready to fall upon their fortified Places: He chose to himself the strongest Place in that Country to set upon, called *Volandum*, such as were not so considerable he committed to the Management of *Cornelius Flaccus* his Lieutenant, and *Insteius Capito* Quarter-master

ster General. And when he had view'd the Works, and got all things ready for an Assault, he encouraged his Soldiers to *Unroot the vagrant Enemy that was nee'dless fit for Peace nor War, and by his Flight made a Confession both of his Perfidy and Cowardise; and to purchase to themselves at once both Glory and Wealth.* When he had thus spoke, he divided his Army into four Parts; he drew up some close together making a Target Fence, and led them on to undermine and beat down the Rampire; others to scale the Walls, many to let fly Fire-brands and Darts out of Warlike Engines; the Slingers and Stone-casters had a place allotted them from whence they might at a distance throw Pellets of Iron and Stone into the Town, that the Besiegers being thus frighted on all sides, might not be able to send any Succour to those that were on the Walls. The Courage of the Assaultants was so great, that the Walls were forsaken by the Defendants before the third part of the Day was spent; the Gates were broken down, the Works scaled, and all of lawful Years put to the Sword, and not a Soldier slain on our sides, and but very few wounded; the Weak and Impotent were sold for Slaves, and the rest of the Booty fell to the Victors share: The Lieutenant and Camp-master General had the like Fortune, three Castles being taken in one Day, and the rest for Fear, and with the Consent of the Inhabitants, delivered up; which encouraged the Romans to set upon *Artaxata*, the Capital City of the Country: Yet the Legions were not led forwards in the next way, because if they passed the River *Anaxis*, which washeth the Walls of the Town, by the Bridge, they were liable to Blows, therefore they passed over, at some distance, two broad Fords.

But *Tiridates* smitten with Shame and Fear, lest if he should suffer the Place to be invested, they might think he was not in a Condition to Relieve it, and if he should go about to hinder it, he should encumber himself.

himself and his Cavalry in dangerous and difficult Places; resolved at last to shew his Army drawn up in Battle-array, and either appoint a Day to give Battle, or under a counterfeit Pretence of Fleeing, lay an Ambush: Whereupon he environed the Romans on a sudden; of which our General being aware, had drawn up his Men in such Order, that his Army might both March on and Fight: The Third Legion was posted on the Right, and the Sixth on the Left, and the Flowers of the Tenth Legion were drawn up in the main Body, the Baggage moving between the Ranks; and a thousand Horse posted in the Rear-guard, who had orders given them, *to resist and make head against the Enemy, whether they advanced, but not to pursue them if they fled.* The Footmen-archers, and the rest of the Horse march'd in the Wings; the Left-wing being somewhat stretch'd out longer to the bottom of the Hill, to the intent, that if the Enemy should attack them, they might be received both in Front and Middle: *Tiridates* on the other hand, came on briskly about the Romans, but yet not within a Dart's Cast, one while seeming to threaten, and another while making as though he were Afraid, and therefore retiring, to see whether they would open and break our Ranks to pursue him, lest he might have the advantage to Entrap us; but finding nothing out of order, and none easily breaking their Ranks, but only one Captain of Horse who advanced more adventurously than the rest, and was slain with an Arrow, and whose Example had no other Effect, than to confirm the rest in their Duty, he retreated, now the Night was at hand.

41. *Corbulo* having pitch'd his Camp, deliberated with himself whether he should advance that Night to *Artaxata*, and lay Siege to it with light and unincumbred Legions, as supposing that *Tiridates* was retired thither. But when the Scouts had brought Intelligence, that the King had taken a longer March, and that it was doubtful



doubtful whether he went to the Medes or Albanians, they tarried there until Day appear'd: When a Party of light armed Men were detach'd to invest the Place, and begin to form the Siege. But the Citizens throwing open their Gates of their own accord, gave themselves up, and all that they had, to the Romans, whereby their Lives were saved. But *Artaxata* was burnt and rased to the Ground, because it could not be kept without a numerous Garrison, by reason of the compass of its Walls. And our Forces were not so considerable, that they could leave there a sufficient Garrison, and withal keep the Field, and the City should be left whole and unreguarded, the Romans should receive neither Honour nor Advantage by the Conquest of it. Some have reported a Miracle to have been wrought here, as it were by some Divine Power, that it hapned so, that whatever was on the out-side of the City, was illuminated with the Sun, while all that was contained within the Walls, was so suddenly darkned by a black Cloud, and severed with Lightning, that it seemed the Will of the Gods was that the Place should be destroyed. Hereupon *Nero* was saluted Emperor, and Processions appointed by Decree of the Senate: And both *Statues* and triumphal Arches were erected, and the Consuls continued to *Nero*; and it was ordained, That the Day on which the Victory was gained, the Day the News was brought, and the Day wherein they talked of it in the Senate, should be kept Holy. All such things were instituted that were so extravagant in that kind, that *C. Cassius*, who had consented to the other Honour assigned to the Emperor, said; That if they were to give the Gods such stated Thanks for so many Favours of Fortune, the whole Year would not be enough to make them Processions, and therefore they ought to distinguish Working-days from Holy-days, that the Gods might be worshipped, and worldly Business not obstructed.

42. About that time, *P. Sullius*, a Man crossed with many Adversities, and one that had deservedly incurred the Hatred of many, was called in Question, and condemned, not without some stain to the Credit of *Seneca*. This *Sullius*, in *Claudius* his Reign, was both a cruel and corrupt Minister; and brought low by the turns of Time, tho' not to that degree his Enemies desired; who would chuse rather to seem Culpable, than to receive Pardon. For it was thought the *Cincian* Law, which inflicted a Penalty on such as pleaded Causes for Money, was set on foot again, only to subvert and ruine him. Yet *Sullius* never forbore to Complain, and give out Language wherein, besides his natural Fierceness, he made use of the boldness by reason of his great Age, as he laid in *Seneca's* Dish; That he was an Enemy to *Claudius* his Friends, in whose Reign he had suffered a most Banishment. That he was withal accustomed to idle talk, and conversant only with the Unskilfulness of raw Youth, enabled such as used a lively and uncorrupted Eloquence, in defending the Causes of the Citizens; that when *Agrippa* was Quæstor to *Germanicus*, the other had defiled his House with Adultery. Was it a greater Crime to take freely offer'd from a Client, for a Man's honest Labour, than to defile the Beds of Princes? With what Wisdom, what Philosophical Precepts, in the space of four Years, he who was the Emperor's Favourite, had he got an Estate of three thousand times a thousand Sesterces? At Rome the cheatful Men, of their Legacies, and wronged the Fatherless who were defrauded by him: Italy, and the Provinces of the Empire were exhausted to a great degree by his excessive Usury. For himself, he had but a small Estate, and that acquired with Labour and Industry. That he would rather endure his Accusation, and run the Risque of the Danger, and whatever else might happen, than subject the Estate he had so long ago obtained, to a new Upstart.

43. Neither were there those wanting who repeated these Words, or worse to *Seneca* again: Be-

sides others who alledged; *That Suilius, when he was Governor of Asia, had pillaged their Allies, and imbercelled the Publick Treasure.* But because they had obtained a Year's time to make a more full Inquisition into the Matter, it was thought a shorter Cut, to begin with such Crimes as he had committed about the City, concerning which they had Witnesses at hand. They objected against him, *That thro' the Severity of his Accusation Q. Pomponius was necessitated to raise a Civil War, that he had been the Occasion of the Death of Julia, his Daughter, and Sabina Poppaea.* *That Valerius, Father of L. Saturninus and Cornelius Lupus, had been condemned by him; yet that a great many Roman Knights had been condemned by his means; and that they lay all Claudius his Cruelty at Suilius's Door.* In his own Defence said, *That he had undertaken those things of his own accord, in Obedience to his Prince.* Until he was put to silence upon that Head by himself, who said, *That he was assured from his Father's Memorials, that he never compelled any Means to Accuse another.* Then he pretended that what he had done, was in Compliance with Messalina's Will; and his Defence began to fail him. *Why was there no other made choice of to speak for that cruel lascivious Lady? It's most just that Instruments of bad Actions should be punished, who after having received the Reward of their Wickedness, they go about to lay them to others charge.* Therefore part of his Estate was taken from him (some of it being given to his son and his Niece, but particularly that part was excepted which was bequeathed unto them by their Mother or Grandmother's Will;) himself was banished into the *Balearick Islands*, but ever retained his wonted Courage, both when tried, and after his Condemnation; and was reported he made this Recess easie to himself, by living as plentifully and deliciously as he could. His Adversity had also ruined his Son *Nerullus*, out of the Malice they bore to the Father, and the

the Extortion laid to his own Charge, if the Emperor himself had not interposed, as allowing there had been sufficient Revenge taken.

44. About the same time *Octavius Sagitta*, Tribune of the People, falling in love with *Pontia*, another Man's Wife, did by large Gifts procure her Consent to his unlawful Desires, then to forsake her Husband, promising her Marriage himself; but when the Woman was freed from her Husband, she began to make delays, and to shift the Business off under Pretence of her Father's Unwillingness; and at last having found out a wealthier Husband, forsook her Promise. *Octavius* on the other hand, one while assailed with Complaints, then again with Threats, lay before her. *How his Credit was lost, and his Money gone, and that now at last he put his Life, which was the only thing that he had left, into her hands.* But all this would not do, he craved the Favour of *Agrippa*, Pleasure with her, and after that he promised to give her his Pretension. The Night was appointed; and he gave the Charge of Watching the Chamber to a Slave, that was her Confidant. Whilst he with one of his Men came with a Weapon hid under his Garment, then, as the manner of Lovers is, he appeared sometimes Angry, sometimes Chiding, one while Intreating, another time Upbraiding, while one part of the Night was spent in gratifying his Lust; and being at last overcome with Grief and Complaints, he run the Woman thro' with his Dagger, who had the Apprehension of no such thing upon her, and wounded a Maid, who would have ran in to her Assistance, and then rush'd out of the Room. The Murder was known next Day, and the Murderer not doubted of, for it was evident they had been together. But the Freed-man protested it was his doing, in Revenge of the Injuries done to his Patron; and moved some with the Strangeness of the Example, to give Credit to him; until such time

time as the Maid having recovered of her Wounds declared the whole Truth. Whereupon *Octavius* being accused of the Fact before the Consuls by *Pontia's* Father, he was Condemned by the Senate at the end of his Consulship, according to the *Cornelian* Laws against Murderers.

The same Year, a Life no less infamous than the former, gave a Beginning to greater Mischiefs in the Commonwealth. There was in the City one whose Name was *Sabina Poppa*, Daughter of *Q. Ollius*, but she had assumed the Name of *Sabina Poppa*, her Grandfather by the Mother side, and a famous Hero, who had been honoured with Consular Dignity, and the Glory of a Triumph. For *Sabina's* Friendship was the ruin of *Ollius* before he arrived to the discharge of any honourable Office in the Commonwealth. This Woman was endued with all other Accomplishments save a virtuous Mind; for her Mother examining all other Ladies of her time, in Beauty, gave her both Glory and Beauty. She had Wealth in proportion to the Nobility of her Birth; she was of an affable Conversation, and not mean of Capacity; she had the Address to pretend Modesty, but to live Lasciviously. Her Freedom went abroad, and when she did her Face was partly veiled, with an Intention either not to fatigue the Eyes of such as should gaze on her, or because that Portraiture became her best. She had never much regard to her Reputation, and made no Distinction between her Husbands and Adulterers; she was neither subject to her own Will, nor to anothers, but where Gain tempted, thither she carried her Affections. This Woman was Married to *Rufus Crispinus*, a Roman Knight, to whom she bare a Son: *Orho* being seduced with youthful Desires and Luxury, and because of his being in great Favour with *Nero*, it was not long before they joined Marriage to Adultery, and dispossessed her Husband entirely of her.

46. But *Orho*, either because uncircumspect in his Affections, or else because he would inflame the Emperor's Lust, failed not to commend his Wife's Beauty and excellent Features to him, to the end, that both enjoying the Woman, his Credit and Authority might by that Bond be so much the more enhanced. He hath been often heard to say, as he rose from Table with *Nero*, that he was going to her, in whom was all Beauty and Delicacy, who inflamed the Desires of all Men, and was able to make them Happy. These and the like Inticements occasioned no long delay in *Nero*, to whom, having access unto her, *Poppa* at first making use of her Admiration and Cunning to inveigle him, said, *She was not so much in Love, and was smitten with the Charmes of his Person*. Then perceiving the Emperor's Lust to mount high, she began to grow proud, and if she entertained him above a Night or two, it was all she could do with him, saying, *She was a Married Woman, and was bound to *Orho*, by Nuptial Vows, whom none could Equal*. She was in Company and Demenor Magnificent, and in her Fortune the highest. But that *Nero* valued a Slave for his Concubine, and was chained to the Bonds of Acte; he could learn nothing from such Servile Flattery, but what was Mean or Sneaking. *Orho* after he was debarred from his accustomed Familiarity with *Nero*, and next of his Company and Conversation, and last of all, lest he should be his Rival in the City, was made Governor of the Province of *Portugal*. Where he lived till the Civil Wars brake out, not after his former irregular manner, but honestly and temperately, hating Idleness, being staid and temperate.

47. Hitherto *Nero* made it his Business to Cloak his vicious and licentious Life. He grew more especially jealous of *Cornelius Sylla*, making a wrong Construction of his dull and heavy Disposition, as tho' he had been a crafty and subtil Dissembler. Which Jealousie *Grapius*, one of *Cesar's* Freed-men, who had been lo-

conversant at Court: even from the time of Tiberius till now, augmented with this Lye: The *Milvian Bridge* was in those Days notorious for being haunted in the Night time with dissolute and unruly Persons, whither also *Nero* used to go; that he might the more freely do his Extravagancies without the City. And therefore they feigned, that there was a Conspiracy formed against *Nero's* Life as he was to return back by the *Via Flaminia*, and that he providentially escaped the Danger by *ingulcris*, *Salustii*, *Gardens*; and that *Sylla* was the Author of this Design, because that some of *Nero's* Servants, turn'd by chance, were by the licentious Behavior of some young Men, which was common enough in that place, put into greater Fear than Danger, when they saw there any of *Sylla's* Retinue or Clients, known to be here. And it was well known he was a Man enough from having such Resolution as to attempt a Fact. But however, he was commanded out of the Country, and confined till he was in the Walls of *Carthago*, altho' he had been convicted of the Crime.

48. Under the same Consuls the *Volturnians* and *Puteolani* had their Audience, the Senators of the Place sending one, and the Commonalty another to the Senate of *Rome*; the former whereof complaining of the Violence offered them by the People, while the others exaggerated the Avarice of the Magistrates and those that were in Authority. And seeing the Sedition there already got to that pitch, that they threw Stones, and threaten'd to set Fire to one anothers Houses, *Cassius* was made choice of to remedy that Disorder. But as they could not brook his Severity, the one of the Magistrate, at his Request, was transferred to the *Scribonians*, who took a Band of the Emperor's Guard along with them, with the Terror of which, and the Punishment of a few of the People, they were brought to be quiet again.

49. I should not speak of the very common Decree of the Senate, by which the City of *Syracuse* was impower'd to exceed the number preferr'd in the *Gladiators* Show. If *Ternus Thrasea* had not spoken against it, and given occasion to malevolent Persons to reprehend his Judgment. For, said they, if he did believe that the Commonwealth was destitute of the Freedom of the Senate, why did he meddle with such Trifles? He should rather have perswaded or dissuaded in Matters of War or Peace, of Tributes, of Loans, and other things wherein consisted the State of *Rome*. Was it lawful for the Senators, as oft as they thought convenient to give their Opinion, to propound what they liked, and require a Consultation upon it? Was there no other Reformation needful, than that the *Plays* at *Syracuse* should not be more than all other things in an Empire in so good Order? He made more *Nero*, than *Thrasea* that had the Government, and the which if they were pass'd, over every dissimulation, how much less should they intermeddle with vain Trifles. *Thrasea* on the other hand, in order to satisfy his Friends, why he contradicted the Decree, made answer, That he did it not as being Ignorant of the present State of *Rome*; but to do greater Honour to the Lords of the Senate, that he might manifestly make appear, that they did not Dissemble in momentous Affairs, who make an Interposition into the smallest Matters.

At the same Year, *Nero*, thro' the frequent and importunate Solicitation of the People in their Complaint against the Publicans, was a while in suspense, whether it were best to order the levying of Tributes and Subsidies to cease, and so thereby gratify and offer it as a general Satisfaction to Mankind. But this Heat in him, which made him to be highly extolled for the Greatness of his Mind, was soon cooled by an Allay of the Senate, who said, It was no other than to dissolve the Empire, to give away those Revenues whereby it was sustained. How if the Customs were once taken off, what would follow, but that the People would insist to have Tribute also abolished? That se-

Verat necessary Imposts had been laid by the Consuls and Tribunes of the People; even then the People of Rome enjoyed the Greatest Liberty. That which afterward was ordered, that the Accounts and necessary Expences might be proportioned off another. That indeed the Covetousness of the Publicans was to be punished, lest if being tolerated so many Years without any Complaints against them, their Malice should produce worse Effects.

The Emperor therefore commanded, That Laws that had been kept secret till that time, should be made publick; so that for the publick Use should not be made of Publick Laws, after the expiration of one Year; the Collector should not make any Law that had been forgotten since that time. That in Rome the Prætor, and in the Provinces the Proconsul, should be in Execution against Publicans extraordinary; the Soldiers should not be debarr'd of their Immunities; they should be paid, and pay only for what they had to sell; which were added many Nuisances, that held but a little while, but then became of more Effect. Yet the Exaction of the Fortieth and Fifth Part continued, and what other unlawful Exactions, cloaked under other Names, the Publicans had exacted. The carrying of Corn into other parts beyond the Sea was not rated. And it was Enacted, That Merchants Ships should not be valued according to the general Estimate of their Goods, nor Customs paid for them.

The Emperor discarded Sulpitius Camerinus and Pomponius Silvanus, who had been Proconsuls in Africa, Camerinus being charged with Cruelty rather than Exaction towards a few private Persons; but for Silvanus he was beset with a great many Accusers, who requested him for Justice-Witnesses, and the Accused at the same time to prepare for his Defence, and being both Rich, Childless and Old, he obtained respite, and out-lived those who were his Prosecutors.

53. Things

Things were quiet till then in Germany, thro' the Dispositions of the Generals, who seeing the Honour of Triumphant grown common, thought it would be more glorious for them to Cultivate the Peace. Paulinus Pompeius and L. Verus had the Command of the Army at that time, who, that they might not keep the Soldiers in Idleness, Paulinus finish'd a Bank that had been begun Threescore and Three Years before by Julius, to keep in the Rhine. Verus applied himself to the Moselle and then by a Channel made between the Moselle and the Rhine, being carried by Sea, then by the Rhine and Moselle, that Channel, then by the Moselle into the Rhine, and from thence Sail into the Ocean, that all the Difficulties of Travelling by Land were removed, the West and the North Seas might be made Navigable from the one to the other. Gaius Silius, Lieutenant of Belgica, envied the Work, driving Verus from it, lest his bringing their Legions into the Moselle might be interpreted to be an Intention in Verus to prepare himself with the Gauls; saying, That should be the Emperor's Charge. A Prentence that too should obstruct honest Endeavours.

Moreover, there was a Report occasioned thro' the Soldiers being kept in continual Idleness, That the Lieutenants of the Army had not Power to lead them against the Enemy. Wherefore the Frisians having planted their young Men in the Woods and Marshes, and removed their feeble Folks by Lakes to the Banks of the Rhine, possessed themselves of the void Grounds and Fish as were allotted for the use of the Soldiers, and under the Conduct of Verito and Malborgh, who were Kings over that Country, according to the German Mode of Government. And they had already built them Houses, and sowed the Grounds, as tho' it had been their own Country, when Dabim Avirus, succeeding Paulinus in the Government of the Province, threatened, to send the Roman Forces amongst them, if the Fri-



Frisians, did not return to their old Houses, or make their Application to Cæsar for a new Place to settle in, which brought Varus and Malorigis to make use of the Advice, and to take a Journey to Rome. While they attended there upon Nero, who was taken up about other Matters, among other things that were wont to be shewn to Barbarians, they entred into Pompey's Theatre, to behold the Multitude of People. There at their lease, (for they took no great Pleasure in those Plays, as not understanding them) while they satisfied their Curiosity, in inquiring concerning the several Seats there, the Distinctions of Quality, which were the Gentlemen, and where the Senators sat, they seemed some Persons in a strange Habit, sitting among the Senators, and asking who they were, when they understood, that that Honour was allowed to the Embassadors of such Nations, that excelled in Virtue and Friendship to the Romans; They thereupon cried out, That there were no People upon the Earth preferable to the Germans in their Valour in War or Fidelity in Friendship, and so presently went and sat among the Senators, which was pleasantly taken by the Spectators, as an Instance of the Forwardness of their old good Nature, and a commendable Emulation of Virtue. Nero made them both Free of Rome; and commanded the Frisians to quit the Country they had possessed; but a Troop of Auxiliary Horse, upon their Refusal to Obey, being suddenly sent among them, forced them to it, and slew and made Prisoners all that obstinately resisted.

The Ansabarians entred the same Territories, who were a People not only of themselves stronger than the other, but much more so, by the Assistance given them by their Neighbours who had Compassion on them, because, that having been driven out by the Chausi, and wanting a Dwelling-place, they desired a safe Exile, where it would. Bojaculus, a Man of great Reputation in that Country, and one likewise faithful

faithful to the Romans, was their Leader, who declared, He had been made a Prisoner at the Command of Arminius, upon the Rebellion of the Cherusi; then how he had served the Romans under Command of Tiberius and Germanicus; adding thereto, That for Fifty Years together he subjected his People under the Roman Power. What need there of such spacious vast Grounds, sometimes used only for the Feeding of the Soldiers Cattle and Herds of Sheep? why they might reserve those Grounds they had received for the Relief of the Men starved for Hunger, provided they asked not a voluntary Wilderness before a People that were Confederates. Those Fields in former Times, belonged to the Chamavians, then to the Tabantes, and after to the Ullipians. As the Heavens were allotted for the Abodes of the Gods, so the Earth was the Portion of Mankind, and what was not possessed by any, was common to all. When he had so said, he looked up to the Sun, pointing to the rest of the Stars, he asked, as it were in their Presence, Whether they were willing to behold the empty? or if they would not rather overwhelm with the Deluge the Ravagers of the Land?

Avitus, being moved herewith, said, That the Commands of their Superiors were to be obeyed. That it was the Will of the Gods whom they invoked, that what should be given and what taken, were to be left to the Arbitrament of the Romans; and that they would admit of no other Judges but themselves. This was the Answer given in Publick to the Ansibarians; but Bojaculus himself was told, The Lands should be given them, in remembrance of his former Friendship. Which the other, as if it had been the Reward of Treason, condemned, and added, We may not Land to live in, but to die in we cannot. With which Words they both parted in Discontent. Bojaculus entred into a Confederacy with the Bructerians, Tencterians, and other remoter Nations, for the better carrying on his War. Avitus having written to Curtius Mancina, Lieutenant of the Upper Army, That passing the

the Rhine, he would fall upon the Enemy in the Rear. He led the Legions into the Country of the *Tenterti*, threatening them with utter Destruction, unless they forsook their Confederacy. Wherefore these dissenting, the *Bructerians* were struck with the same Fear, with all the rest of the Alliance, fleeing from other Mens Dangers. The *Anstbarians* retired alone to the *Uspians*, and *Tubantians*; whose Territories being expelled, they went thence to the *Catti*; then to the *Cherusci*; and during their long Wandrings as Guests, Enemies, and finally, the remainder of their Youth were slain in several Countries, and the Weak and Impotent that survived, divided amongst the Inhabitants for a Booty.

57. The same Summer there was a great Battle fought between the *Hermunduri* and *Catti*; each endeavouring to remain Masters of a River, that afforded abundance of salt, adjoining to their Country. They were egged on hereunto, not only out of the desire, but of a Principle of Religion, whereby they were persuaded, that those Places were nearly situated to Heaven, and Mens Prayers could be no sooner heard from any other place, than from thence. That Salt grew in that River and in those Woods, thro' the Goodness of the Gods; not as amongst other Nations, by the flowing of the Sea, and drying of the Waters, but by infusing Water into a burning Pile of Wood, concentered of two contrary Elements, viz. Fire and Water. The War proved favourable to the *Hermundurians*, but was the utter Ruine of the *Catti*; because of a Vow the latter had made, if they proved Rulers, of dedicating the other Army to Mars and Mercury, and that both Man and Horse, and whatever was conquered, should be put to Death. And indeed those deadly Threats were turn'd against themselves. But the City of the *Obians*, that was our Confederate, was afflicted with a sudden Disaster; for a Fire brake out of the Earth, that consumed Towns, Fields, and the circumjacent

Villages, and spread itself as far as *Cologn*, lately built. Nor could it be extinguish'd either by Rain or River-water; or any other Liquor that could be used; until want of other Remedy, and out of Compassion for the further Desolation it would make, some Countrymen threw Stones upon it afar off, whereby finding Blame somewhat to abate, they drew nearer, and quite out with Clubs and other such Tools, as if they had been to knock a Wild Beast on the head. And of all tearing their Cloths from their Backs they threw them in, which by how much the more worn and greasy they were, so much the better did they put out the Fire.

The same Year the Fig-tree, known by the name of *Ruminalis*, and which grew in the Place of Assemblies, and had about Eight Hundred and Forty Years before given Shelter to *Romulus* and *Remus* when infants, having now its Boughs dead and Trunk beginning to wither, this was looked upon as a Prodigy, until it began to wax green again and to thrust out new shoots.

THE  
ANNALS  
OF  
CORNELIUS TACITUS.

The Fourteenth Book.

IN the Consulate of *Vipsanius* and *Fonteius*, *Nero* grown now more daring by a long Reign, and more passionately in Love with *Poppaea* than ever, was resolv'd to defer no longer to execute the Crime he had so long meditated: For *Poppaea* not thinking he would ever have Courage enough to marry her, and divorce *Octavia*, while *Agrippina* was living, never ceased to incense him against her, by all the Calumnies, and Reproaches, she could invent; frequently Rallying, and telling him, with a Smile, That he was under Guardianship; that instead of being Master of the Empire, he was under the Government of another: Why else, says she, should you defer this Marriage? Was it want of Beauty? Or that she was not well enough descended? She whose Ancestors



stors had so often obtained the Honours of Triumphs? Did he doubt her Affection, or Fruitfulness? Or did he fear lest her Plain-dealing should make him sensible of the Murmurs of the People, against the Pride and Avarice of his Mother? That if that unnatural Woman, could not endure a Daughter-in-law, who was not at Eternal Enmity with her Son; for her part, she prefer'd the Bed of Otho, with whom she would chuse to retire into some remote Corner of the World, and there hear the infamous Story of Nero, who be assisting to them, and share the Dangers of his Fortune. These Reproaches, joyn'd with the charming Tears of a Mistress, skill'd in the Arts of Insinuation, made a great Impression on his Mind, no one oppos'd; all glad to find the Power of *Agrippina* declining, and not once imagining he would pursue his Aversion so far, as to take away her Life.

2. *Cluvius* relates, That *Agrippina*, out of an insatiable Desire to preserve her Credit, which she found sensibly to diminish, went so far to preserve it, as to dress, and present herself to her Son, in the height of his Debauches, to engage him to Incest. All agree, that there pass'd several lascivious Kisses, and other Carresses, the usual Fore-runners of that Crime. But those who were about his Person, observing these Passages, *Seneca* soon brought in *Acte*, Nero's beloved Woman, to expel one Whore with another. She, careful to avoid the Danger which threaten'd her, as well as the Emperour, soon acquainted him, That this *Agrippina* was divulg'd by the Vanity of his Mother; that the Army would not endure the Government of a Woman, guilty of so odious a Crime. *Fabius Rusticus* ascribes this Extravagance to Nero's Inclination, and pretends, he was diverted from it by the Intrigues of his Mistress: But they agree in the Particulars, and what I write, is confirmed by the Consent of Historians, and general Tradition favours it; whether *Agrippina* contrived so villainous an Act to support her Fortune, or to please

a preposterous Appetite. In her Youth she prostituted herself to *Lepidus*, in hopes of Governing; And after that to *Pallas*, out of the same Ambition: And last of all, she opened a Door to all manner of Vice, by an incestuous Marriage with her own Uncle.

3. The Emperour began now to shun all private Interviews, and to commend her, when she retired to her Gardens, or Villa's of *Antium*, and *Tusculum*: And esteeming her a Burden to him, resolves to have her taken off; but whether by Stabbing, or Poyson, is still Matter of Debate. The first was approved of for the present; but it seem'd difficult to corrupt the Domesticks of a Woman, whose Crimes had taught her to be diffident, and guard herself against Surprise; besides, that she often fortified herself, on that side, by taking Antidotes: To poyson her at Table, would be too gross and visible, since the Death of *Britannicus*. The Difficulty of concealing a downright Murther, was not less on the other hand, and he was afraid no one would execute so enormous a Villany, whereby he might rid himself of her. While he was revolving these Scruples in his Mind, *Anicetus*, a Free-man of his, formerly Governor to *Nero*, in his Youth, and now General of the Gallies in the Port of *Misenum*, between whom and *Agrippina* there had been long a mortal Hatred, steps in, and offers a new Project. He proposes a Vessel to be built in such an artificial manner, that it should break of a sudden in the Sea, and sink, without the least Suspicion of Design; alledging the Uncertainty and Hazard of the Sea, and that no one could be so partial or malicious as to ascribe a Wreck, on that Element, to the Artifice of Men, or question them for the Injuries of Waves and Weather. Besides, the Emperour might build Temples and erect Altars, in Ostentation of his Piety, to his deceased Mother.

4. This Invention was approved and thought admirable, and this the more because *Nero* was then  
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upon the Coast, celebrating the Five Days Feast of *Minerva* at the *Baia*. In order to this, he invites *Agrippina*, and, to surprize her the better, causes a Rumour to be spread, *That he was reconciled to her; That he thought it the Duty of a Son to bear any Usage from a Mother*. Now, as Women are credulous and easily persuaded to what they like, she came to meet him. He went to receive her upon the Shore, as she was then coming from *Antium*, takes her by the Hand, embraces her, and conducts her to *Baul*, a House of Pleasure, between the Lake of *Baia* and Cape *Misene*, on the edge of the Coast, which is reflected a little in that place. There was a Vessel more richly equipped than the rest, which appeared as if he intended to do her extraordinary Honour: She had been used to be rowed in a Galley with three Ranks: Besides, she was invited to Supper, the better to cover all with the Darkness of the Night. She had notice of the Design, and, to prevent Suspicion, caused herself to be carried in a Chair to *Baia*. But *Nero* removed all her Jealousies and Fears, by his extraordinary Cares, and, placed her above himself, entertaining her sometimes with the Freedom and Gaiety of Youth, sometimes intermixing more serious Concerns and Matters of Importance. The Feast at last being over, which was prolonged very far in the Night, he bid her Adieu with new Transports, kissing her Eyes, and embracing her, either to compleat the Scene of Hypocrisie, or really affected with a Natural Tenderness, at the last parting, however cruel and relentless in his Mind.

5. The Sea was calm and the Sky clear and serene, as if the Powers above had resolved to leave this Parricide without Excuse. *Agrippina* had with her two of her People, *Crepereius Gallus*, who stood at the Helm, and *Aceronia*, who lay at her Feet, as she reposed herself, repeating with a great deal of pleasure, the

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new Favour, and *Nero's* Repentance. The Vessel was not far from the Shore, when, upon a Signal given, the Roof, loaded with Lead, breaks down on a sudden and kills *Crepereius* in an instant with the Fall. *Aceronia*, and the Emperess, who lay upon her Couch, were preserved by the strong Sides of the Bed, which did not give way to the Fall: But the Vessel did not split, for the great Confusion of the Sailors upon this Accident, hinder'd the Conspirators from acting their parts. It was resolved next by the Crew, to overset the Ship, by going all on one side; but divers opposed this, and ran over to the other side, to prevent which, gave more time to sink. *Aceronia*, thoughtless of danger, crying out she was Mother to the Emperor, and, calling for help, was soon knock'd on the Head with their Oars and other Naval Instruments. *Agrippina* escaped the Danger by her silence, and saved herself by swimming, with the help of some Skiffs from the Shore, which conveyed her back to her House on the *Lacrine* Lake, having only received a slight Wound on the Shoulder.

6. There she had leisure to reflect on the Danger she had run thro', and began now to discover the true Reasons of those obliging Letters and of the Honours and Cares she had so lately received; she could now discover the Cause the Galley broke in pieces so near the Shore, without Storms or Rocks, the Roof falling in the nature of a Machine, the Death of *Aceronia*, and her own Wound. And, well knowing the surest Method to escape a treacherous Ambuscade, is, to make a Feint of not discerning it, sends *Agerrinus*, a Domestick of hers, to *Nero*, to acquaint him with the Danger she had escaped, by the Favour of Heaven and his Auspicious Reign; intreating him, notwithstanding his Surprize or Concern at this Accident, not to Visit her, considering she wanted Rest, after her Fright and Hurt. In the mean time, under the appearance of Security, she

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takes

takes all necessary Care for the Cure of her Wound; the Testament of *Aceronia* to be look'd out, her Coffers to be seal'd, and all things necessary to be done without the least Dissimulation.

7. The Emperor expecting the News of her Death with the greatest impatience, Advice was brought; She was escaped with a slight Hurt, and the Enterprize had no other Effect than to discover its Author. Upon this, seized with Fear and Rage, and representing to himself his Mother at the Head of the Army, mustering up the People, petitioning the Senate, haranguing them with the Relation of her Wreck, her own Wound and the Death of her Friends, he instantly called for *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, who, perhaps, were privy to the Business. They stood amazed for some time in profound silence, knowing it would be to no purpose to divert *Nero* from his Design. They very well saw Matters were brought to an extremity, that *Nero* must prevent his Mother, or resolve to perish himself. *Seneca*, who hitherto had always demonstrated his Readiness, began to view *Burrhus* steadily, as if he intended to ask him, *Whether the Soldiers would execute this Parricide?* The other replied, *He thought them too well affected to the Imperial House, and had too great a respect to the Memory of Germanicus, to act any thing to the prejudice of his Daughter, and that Anicetus must finish what he had begun.* He accepts the Office and undertakes for the Execution. *Nero* was transported at this, declaring, *He should that Day receive the Empire, and acknowledge, he owed it to his Servant;* insisting, *that he should dispatch the Business, and chuse fit Men to assist him in it.* For his part, so soon as he understood *Agerinus* was arrived, he resolved on this Artifice: Whilst he was delivering his Message, to cause a Dagger to fall from between his Legs, and upon this to arrest him, and impose on the World a belief he was sent by *Agrippina* to kill him, and that she

she had made herself away out of regret, upon the News her Villany was discover'd.

8. The News of the Wreck, which was reputed casual, was soon dispersed, every one running to the shore, some mounting upon the Mole, others in Shalops; some leaping into the Water to the middle, others reaching out their Hands; the Shore rang with different Noise, some bemoaning the Disaster, others praying for her Safety, with innumerable Questions and Answers about the Adventure, and all came to solicit her escaping so great a Danger, till a Troop of Soldiers coming up in some disorder, and menacing the Company, obliged them to depart. *Anicetus* immediately invested the House, and set a Guard upon all the Avenues, forced open the Door, and seized all the Servants which he met, directing his way streight to the Chamber; he found but few People without, the rest being dispersed. *Agrippina* was within alone, with only one of her Women and a small Light, very much perplexed that she had not received any News from her Son, wondring why *Aggerinus* did not return. The Coast now seemed to put on another Face, the Horror and Silence of the Place being interrupted by sudden Shrieks, a certain Mark of some fatal Disaster approaching; and her Maid, hearing a sudden Noise without, began to fly, which she perceiving, call'd to her, saying, *What, will you forsake me?* No sooner had she spoke this, but she spied *Anicetus* enter, with *Herculeus*, Captain of a Galley, and one *Oloaritus*, a Centurion of the Fleet. Upon which she instantly cried out, *If they come as Friends, to enquire of my Health, you may return answer, I am well enough recovered: If as Enemies, I will never believe my Son will be guilty of Parricide.* The Assassins encompassed the Bed, and the Captain of the Vessel strook her over the Head with a Club, while the Centurion drew his Sword; she crying out, and pointing to her Belly, *'Tis here you must sheath your*  
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*bloody Daggers.* So she was instantly dispatched.

9. Some Authors pretend *Nero* viewed the lifeless Trunk of his Mother, and, seeing it naked, commended her Beauty; others deny it: However this might be, her Body was burnt the same Night on the Bed she used to repose on in her Entertainments, without Ceremonies, and she had no Monument erected, till some of her Domesticks, after the Emperor's Death, erected a slight Structure in the Road to *Misene*, near *Caesar's* House, which looks towards the Gulph. While the Funeral Pile was kindling, *Mnestor*, a Free-man of hers, stabb'd himself, either in Despair, or Affection to the Memory of his late Mistress. It is reported *Agrippina* had her unfortunate Death predicted to her by the Astrologers, when she consulted them to know if *Nero* should succeed the Empire, they replying, *He should be Emperor, and put his Mother to death.* To which she answer'd; *No matter if he kill her, provided you are certain he shall reign.*

10. The Emperor was not sensible of the Greatness of his Crime till he had executed it. The remainder of the Night he pass'd as a Man besides himself, sometimes in a mournful Silence, at other times starting up all affrighted, expecting the return of Day with the greatest impatience, as that which must put an end to his Misfortunes and Life together. *Burrhus* was the first who gave him any Consolation, advising the Officers of the Guard to compliment him on the Dangers he had escaped, and express their Satisfaction at his being happily deliver'd from the Practices of his Mother. Next the Courtiers went to the Temples, and, after their examples, the neighbouring Towns of *Campania* gave Demonstrations of their Joy, by their Embassies and Sacrifices. The Emperor seem'd melancholy and almost distracted, as if he had in earnest bewail'd the Death of his Mother, or wished for his own. But as it is much more ealie to shift Places than Persons, the

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Image of the Villains, who were stained with the guilt of this Parricide, still haunted him; and it was reported, That the Sound of a Trumpet was heard upon the Hills round about, and Groans over the Tomb of his Mother. He retired to *Naples*, from whence he writ to the Senate,

11. That *Agerinus*, one of the Free-men and Confidants of *Agrippina*, had been seized with a Dagger in his Palace, and had stabbed himself in remorse. He objected to her, her ancient Faults, That she had endeavour'd to have herself declared a Partner in the Empire, and an Oath given to the Praetorian Cohorts, in her Name, to the eternal Dishonour of the Roman Empire. That, incens'd to find her ambitious Attempts defeated, she had vowed Revenge on the Senate, the Army and the People, who were the Obstacles of her Designs. That, for this Reason, she had procured the Death of some, and hindred others from receiving the Largesses intended to be given them. That he had a great deal of difficulty to divert her from taking her Place in the Senate, giving Audience to the Embassadors of Foreign Princes. Besides, he charged her with all the Ill Management in the Reign of *Claudius*; and added, *She died for the Publick Good*, and imputed her Wreck to chance. But no body was so stupid as to believe this, or to imagin that so soon as she was escaped from so evident a Danger, she should send an Assassin to kill *Nero*, at a time when he was in the midst of his Army and Fleet. They began to cease murmuring at the Emperor, whose barbarous Act was above all expression; and to turn the Tide of Popular Disgust against *Seneca*, who seem'd to approve this horrid Villany, by seeking plausible Reasons to give a Colour to it.

12. Notwithstanding all this, they proceeded with great Alacrity to decree Publick Processions, and to erect a Statue of Gold to *Minerva* in the Senate, and another to the Emperor to be placed by it. They added to all this, Sports to the Honour of this Goddess, to be celebrated every

*Tear during the Five Days Festival, in which the Conspiracy had been discovered, and to load her Memory with Infamy, that the Birth-day of Agrippina should be placed among the Unfortunate Days. Now Thrasea Patus, who had been used to pass by other Flatteries in silence, or with very few Remarks, openly went out of the Senate and laid the Foundation of his own Ruin, without effecting any thing for the Publick Liberty. There happened divers vain Prodigies, one Woman was delivered of a Serpent, another killed with Lightning, in the Embraces of her Husband, the Sun eclipsed at Broad-day, and Mischief done by Thunder in all Parts of Rome. And in all this the Gods shewed so little Concern, that Nero continued his Criminal Life for many Years after. And now, to shew his Mother was the Obstacle to his Clemency, and blast her Memory as the Author of the late violent Methods, he restored two great Ladies, Junia and Calpurnia, and two other eminent Men, Valerius Capito and Licinius Gabolus, who both had been Governors of Rome and banish'd by the Command of Agrippina. He caused the Ashes of Lollia to be brought back, and built her a Sepulchre, and recalled Iturius and Calvisius, whom he had banished but a little before. As for Silana, she was dead in her Exile, having lived to see her Sentence mitigated, and permitted to return to Tarentum, either because the Passion of Agrippina was appeased, or her Power abated.*

13. The Emperor stopp'd in the Towns of Campania, dubious whether he should return to Rome and seek to gain the Applause of the Senate and People. The Courtiers, who attended him, certainly the worst of Men, advised him to proceed, and not fear any ill Event that might happen, assuring him he would find the Affection of the People increased by the Death of Agrippina, whose Name and Memory was odious to them, alledging that he should go on to increase his Fame and Glory. He went at their instance, and found his Success exceed what

what they promised. All Men ran to receive him, the People in their several Tribes, the Senators in their Formalities, Men, Women and Children in Troops, distributed according to their Age and Sex, and Scaffolds erected through the Streets, as at the Entry of a Conqueror. Being thus received, he directs his Course to the Capitol, to return Thanks to the Gods, and abandons himself to all manner of Pleasures, which the Respect to his Mother had in some manner obliged him to refrain.

14. From his Infancy he took a mighty Pleasure in driving of Chariots, and playing upon the Harp, during the time of eating, which he endeavoured to vindicate, by the Example of great Princes and Heroes of Antiquity, pretending those Sports were celebrated in the Writings of the ancient Poets, and dedicated to the Gods as Marks of their Valour; That Apollo was the God of Harmony, and appeared in the Habit of a Musician in the Roman Temples as well as in the Cities of Greece, tho' he was a Deity of considerable Rank, and had privilege of knowing Future Events. It was difficult to divert him, if Burrhus and Seneca, to prevent both, had not condescended to his Passion, and permitted him the driving of Chariots in a place inclosed in the lower Vatican, to avoid being exposed to the view of the People: However, at last, they were admitted, who applauded all, they being commonly great Lovers of Pleasure, and transported to find a Prince fall in with their Humour. This Permission, instead of satiating, only served to augment his Passion and banish all Reserve. And now, to remove all the Disgrace, he endeavours to engage all the ancient Nobility, whose Poverty made them susceptible of all Impressions. I shall not mention their Names, to avoid bringing a Disgrace on their Families, since it was mainly the Emperor's Fault, who, instead of discouraging, animated them to this Baseness by rewarding it. Besides this, he engaged, by great Presents,

sents, several *Roman* Knights, whose Names are not unknown, to divert him; the which was a sort of Compulsion, since Promises and Rewards from him who has the Power in his Hands are in effect so many Commands.

15. To avoid being stain'd with the Infamy of the Publick Theater, he instituted Sports under the Title of *Juvenalia*, or Exercise for Youth, in which all Men came to list themselves, without distinction of Age, Quality or Sex. Senators did not decline to mimic a *Greek* or *Latin* Comedian, with the most base and unmanly Gestures and Grimaces. Women of the highest Quality exposed themselves with the most dishonourable Postures, and they erected Huts and Shops in the Wood, which *Augustus* planted round the Lake, in which he entertained the People with a Naval Combat. Money was given to the Actors, which debauched Men triumphed in, and Men of Honour were compelled to receive. Nothing could ever have corrupted the *Roman* Vertue more than these Irregularities. Modesty is very hardly preserved in lawful Diversions, but much more difficultly in the School of Vice and Lewdness. At last the Emperor mounted the Theater himself, playing on his Harp with the greatest Care and Exactness, in the presence of the Courtiers and Guards: *Burrhus* assisted at it with the Tribunes and Centurions, but with a dejected Countenance, plainly discovering by his Mien, he was compelled to approve what he did really condemn. At that time *Nero* selected the best *Roman* Knights, and composed a Troop, on which he imposed the Name of the *Augustan Company*, in which divers vicious Persons procur'd themselves to be enter'd, and others in hopes of making their Fortunes. Their Business was, Night and Day, to applaud his Diversions, to commend his Voice and Person as Divine, instead of praising his Vertuous and Honourable Actions.

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16. The Emperor amongst the rest, to signalize himself by some honourable Exercises, affected the Reputation of Poetry, and chose out Persons who had some Skill in that Art to Correct his Verses, who likewise made others in his presence, every one assisting him in the Composition, as the Diversity and Inequality of the Stile plainly discovers. He took pleasure after Dinner to hear the Disputes of Philosophers, to hear their Arguments solved, and there were some who affected an austere and mortified Countenance amidst the Pleasures and Debauches of *Nero*. About this time a slight Dispute created a great Quarrel between the Inhabitants of the Colonies of *Nucere* and *Pompei*: *Livineius Regulus*, expelled the Senate, gave a Combat of Gladiators in the latter Place, whither the others came out of Curiosity to see it. The Townsmen usually taking an extream pleasure in Railery, began to move one another, first with Reproaches, after with more sensible Injuries, and, last of all, fell to sling Stones, and then to draw their Swords, and several of the *Nucerines* were carried home to their Houses maimed, Children bewailing the loss of their Parents, and other Parents the loss of their Children: The *Pompeian* Party carried away the Victory they being at Home. The Emperor having Advice of this Disorder, remitted the Inspection to the Senate, who appointed Consuls to examine into it, and, upon the Report they made, disabled the Town of *Pompea* from having any of the like Entertainments, for the space of Ten Years, broke all the Societies which had formed themselves in opposition to the Laws, and banished *Livineius* and the other Authors of the Sedition.

18. About the same time *Pedius Blasius* was expelled the Senate, upon a Complaint of the *Cyrenians*, That he had plundered the Treasury of *Esculapius*, and suffered himself to be corrupted by Favour and Bribes, in a Levy of Soldiers he had order'd to be made. They  
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prosecuted *Acilius Strabo*, for usurping the Authority of *Prator*, being only an Intendant sent by *Claudius* to make Enquiry into the Effects which King *Appio* had left with his Dominion to the Roman People, his Neighbours having seized what they found most convenient, and endeavoured to form a Title of their Usurpation. These Men being obliged to refund, made complaint to the Senate, who remitted them to the Emperor, refusing to meddle in an Affair of that nature without first communicating it to him. The Emperor confirmed the Sentence of *Strabo*, but restored to the others what they had usurped, in consideration of their very Alliance with the Roman People.

19. After this died two illustrious Persons, *Domitius Afer*, and *Marcus Servilius*, both Men who had enjoyed the highest Honors, and made themselves famous by their Eloquence. The latter, after he had for many Years pleaded, quitted the Bar to write the Roman History, in which he acquired a great Name: But his Gentile Humor conduced yet farther to advance his Reputation, being not inferior to the other in Wit, but of a different Temper.

20. The Emperor being Consul the fourth time, together with *Cornelius Cossus*, Quinquennial Sports were instituted, in Imitation of the Greek Practice. This, like all other Novelties, met with a very different Reception; some assure us, *Pompey* was very much censured by the ancient Men of his Age, for founding a perpetual Theater. For before his time they erected them as their Affairs required, and in the Infancy of Rome the Spectators all stood. They pretended in making Seats, they had too much indulged Idleness and Laziness; that Men might now pass whole Days in doing nothing; that they did forsake the old Custom, which compelled no Man to mount the Stage, but condemning all the wise and prudent Laws of their Ancestors, all sorts of Foreign Vices were admitted into the City, and Rome made a Sink of all manner

manner of Corruption. That the Youth degenerated by the Study of Foreign Novelties. That they gave themselves up to their Exercises, Pleasures and scandalous Amours, by the Authority of the Emperor and Senate, who were not content to con-  
 nive at these Practices, but directly enjoined them. That the principal Men of Rome, under Pretext of reciting Verses and making Harangues, debased themselves by appearing on the Stage. That nothing remained more for them, but to strip and take up the *Cæstus*, instead of Military Exploits. Where should one find the Sanctity of a Priest, or the Severity of a Judge, amongst Men who were wholly employed in the soft Airs and Harmony of Musick? That the Night was chosen to add to their Infamy, and leave no Refuge for Modesty. That it was with ease for any debauched Persons to effect their lewd Designs in the Confusion and Darkness.

21. Others approved these licentious Practices, but disguised them under specious Colours: They alledged the Severity of our Ancestors was not averse to the Diversion of Publick Shews. That all Care was taken, the loss of their Fortune did admit of in these Matters. That they had sent into Tuscany for Actors. Had their Horseraces from the *Thurii*. That when they were Masters of Greece and Asia, they grew more nice and delicate in order to the Stage; and this was so far from corrupting the Roman Nobility, that in the space of two hundred Years, from the Triumph of *L. Mummius*, who first introduced these Divisions in Rome, not any one Person of good Extraction had degraded himself by treading the Stage. That Parsimony was studied in erecting Theaters for their Exercises. That by this means the infinite Expence made every Year for this purpose was avoided. That the People would not so eagerly love these sorts of Sports, since they were become common, or ruin Magistrates in entertaining them with them. That Contests in Prose and Poetry served to excite the Wits. That a Judge could lose nothing of his Gravity by indulging himself a few Hours in the use of Recreations lawful and honest. That it was for the Diversion, not Debauchery, that some few Nights



in the Five Years were set apart. That amidst such numerous Lights, it would be hard for any lewd or immoral Practices to pass undiscovered. It is certain no remarkable Scandal happened at that time, and no Division fell out among the People. For the *Pantomimi*, tho' they were admitted to mount the Stage, were excluded from the Sacred Sports. No one carried the Victory in Eloquence, but all with an unanimous Vote yielded that to the Emperor. Most who had lately followed the *Greek Mode*, now resumed their ordinary Habit.

22. In the midst of these Affairs a Comet appeared, which the People take for a certain Prefage of the Death or Deposition of their Sovereign. And now, as if *Nero* had been actually depos'd, they agreed *Rubellius Plautus* should succeed, descended from the *Julian* Family by his Mother's side. He led an austere and retired Life, after the ancient manner, avoiding all superfluity in his Habit and Expence; but the more he endeavoured to live obscure and concealed, the more Fame published his Glory. An unexpected Accident favoured the Popular Opinion, tho' without any better foundation than the former. For whil'st *Nero* was eating in the Country of *Tivoly*, whence *Rubellius* his Father came, in a place called the *Sublaqueum*, near the Pools of *Simbruine*, a Clap of Thunder struck the Table and overturned the Dishes: This confirm'd them in their Opinion, that the God's had mark'd out *Rubellius* for the Empire, and great Numbers made their Court to him, whose vain and ambitious Humour flattered them with hopes of obtaining imaginary Honours. The Emperor alarm'd, to prevent the further spreading of such-like Rumors, writes to *Plautus*, That he would do well to retire to one of his Houses, to avoid all People, and prevent the Disturbance his Presence might create. That his Paternal Estate was in Asia, whither he might retire and pass the rest of his Youth secure and unmolested. Upon which he immediately went thither with his Wife

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*Antistia* and some of his choice Friends. About the same time *Nero* had near been lost by an excess and debauch of Swimming in the Fountain of *Mars*, lately brought to the City; and the Distemper which soon after surprized him, was interpreted as an effect of the Displeasure of Heaven, for his Contempt in defiling with his Body the Holy Waters, and profaning the Sanctity of the Place.

23. *Corbulo*, after he had rased *Artaxata*, designed, in the height of their Consternation, to take *Tigranocerta*, either by destroying it, to add to the Terror of its Name, or in sparing it, to gain a Renown for his Clemency. He marched streight thither with his Army, without laying waste the Places through which he pass'd, to demonstrate his Intention of Pardoning them, paying still a special care of himself, well knowing, that their fickle Humor, timorous of danger and perdition, upon opportunity should favour them. This barbarous People, upon his approach, began to act according to their several Inclinations, some came in to implore his Mercy, others quitted their Habitations and fled to inaccessible Places, or hid themselves in the Rocks, along with them their most valuable Moveables. *Corbulo* pardoned the first, and pursued the rest, setting fire to the Mouth of the Caverns, to burn those who were retired into them. The *Mardi*, a People who lived by Plunder, made an Incurſion upon his Men, as they pass'd by their Frontier, and retired to their Mountains. He sent the *Hiberi* to chastise them and punish this audacious Attempt by foreign Hands.

24. The Army had suffer'd little in Battle, but endured much Fatigue, with long Marches, struggling with Hunger and Thirst amidst the Heats of the Summer. But the General's Patience, who sustain'd the same Hardship with the meanest Soldier, allayed their Pains, till they after some time came into a more fruitful Country, just after their Harvest was over: This was defended

defended by two Castles, one of which was taken by Storm, and the other, after a short Siege, surrendered upon Composition. From thence they passed the Country of the *Taurantians*, where *Corbulo* narrowly escaped being killed by a *Barbarian* Lord, who was apprehended with Arms near his Tent, and confess'd, upon Torture, his Design and Accomplices. They were taken and condemned to Death, being convicted of intending to Assassinate him, under pretext of Friendship. Some time after, those he had sent to *Tigranocerta* reported the Town was at his Devotion, and had sent him a golden Crown in token of their Alliance. He received this Present honourably, and, to keep them well affected to the *Roman* side, confirmed them in their Estates and Privileges.

25. Some of their Youth, for a small time, defended themselves in the Fort, and made a Sally, but being repulsed by our Men it was taken by Storm. The *Parthians* being engaged in *Hyrcania*, facilitated the Progress of *Corbulo*. For this Province being revolted counted our Alliance, and had some Pretence of moving it by so considerable a Favor. For this reason *Corbulo* sent a Convoy to their Deputies, upon their return from *Rome*, fearing, after they had passed *Euphrates*, they might be surprized by the Enemies Garrisons, and conducted them back to the Red Sea, from whence they made their own Country without any considerable Risque.

26. He forced *Tiridates*, who insulted the Frontiers of *Armenia* on the side of *Media*, to quit the Country and his Designs. He sent *Verulanus* against him, one of his Lieutenants, with Auxiliary Troops, himself marching at the Head of his Legions, ravaging the Country of those he esteemed affected to the Enemy. He was absolute Master of *Armenia* when *Tigranes* went to take possession by Order of the Emperor. This Prince descended from the Kings of *Cappadocia*, and Grand

son to *Achelaus*; but the long time he had been detain'd in *Rome*, as a Hostage, had depressed his Courage and Life. This made him distasteful to the Faction of the *Assacide*; but the other Party, tired with the Insolence of the *Parthians*, received with Joy a Prince who came from the *Roman* Court. *Corbulo* left him a thousand Men of the Legions, three Cohorts of the Allies, and two Regiments of Horse; and lest he might have too many Countries upon his hands to Defend, he took off that Part which was Frontier to the Dominions of *Nipolis*, *Hiocbus* and *Aristobulus*, and gave them to those Kings in Recompence of the Services which they had done in this War. And after returned to his Government in *Syria*, given him upon the Death of *Nimidius*.

27. *Laodicea*, one of the most famous Cities of *Asia*, and by an Earthquake, rebuilt itself without any Assistance from us; and *Puteoli*, an ancient City, receiv'd the Title and Privileges of a Colony from the Liberator of the Emperour. The Veteran Soldiers, who had been planted at *Antium* and *Tarentum*, to Re-people those Towns which were almost deserted, had no great Success, most of them returning to those Countries where they had born Arms; and those who remained behind being Strangers to the ordering a Family, breeding of Children, died almost all without leaving any Posterity. In former time they sent whole Legions with their Officers to form a sort of a small Republick, but these were confusedly pack'd together, some out of one Company, some out of another, without any Commander in chief, or any Acquaintance with each other, as if they came out of another World; rather a rude Multitude than a regular Colony.

28. The Emperour to defeat all Faction in the Election of *Prætors*, which depended on the Pleasure of the Senate, gave the Command of three Legions to three Competitors above the usual Number. He order'd likewise those who appealed to the Senate from the Sen-

tence of any inferiour Judge, should pay the same Fee with those who appealed to the Emperour; for before no Penalty was laid on such Persons. Near the end of this Year *Vibius Secundus*, a Roman Knight, accused of Bulbery by the *Moors*, was banish'd *Italy*, and had been more severely censured, if the Credit of *Vibius Crispus*, his Brother, had not protected him.

29. In the Consulat of *Cassius Patrus* and *Petrus Turpilianus*, the Romans received a great Defeat in *Brittain*. *Avinus* had contented himself to preserve our Conquests, without endeavouring to add new ones, but *Vespaianus* his Successour made some slight IncurSIONS on the *Silures*, and died whilst he was forming a greater Project: He had acquired during his Life a great Opinion of his strict and severe Virtue, but lost it at his Death by filling his Testament with divers Flatteries of the Emperour, and adding, with an insupportable Vanity, That in case he had lived two Years longer, he would have reduced the Province to his Obedience. *Suetonius Paulinus* succeeded him, who imitated the Glory of *Corbulo*, and endeavour'd to represent the Defeat of some few Rebels an Exploit equally glorious with the Conquest of *Armenia*: At least the People compared them together, according to their Custom of making Parallels between Great Men, leaving none without a Companion. He, to hinder his Army from remaining idle, attempted the Conquest of the *Isle of Man*, which was very populous, and the ordinary Retreat of all Deserters: He embarked his Infantry on flat-bottom'd Vessels, because the Sea was shallow, and the Road uncertain: The Horse passed the Boords in some places swimming, every one holding his Horse by the Bridle.

30. The Enemy was rang'd upon the Shore, intermix'd with Women, running to and fro, dress'd in the Habit of Furies, their Hair dishevel'd, Tore their Hands, and encompass'd with Druids, who

threw their Hands to Heaven, pouring forth most terrible Execrations. The Horrour of this Spectacle astonish'd our Men, and made them stand like Statues to receive the Enemies Assault: But after some few Moments, animated by their General, and encouraging each other, they soon grew ashamed of Fearing a Troop of Women and Enthusiasts, and making a vigorous Attack, defeated the Enemy, and returned upon them their own Artifice. After the Defeat they burnt Garrisons in their Towns, and cut down the Images dedicated to their Superstitions: This inhuman People were accusom'd to shed the Blood of their Priests on their Altars, and consult their Gods over the Bowels of Men. In the midst of these Affairs Advice was brought to the General of the Revolt in the Province.

*Prasutagus* King of the *Iceni*, Illustrious for a long and wealthy Reign, left the Emperour Heir with two Daughters, hoping by this obsequious Compliance to secure his Family and State: But the Event was quite otherwise, for his Kingdom became a prey to our Officers, and his Goods plundered by his Domesticks: His Queen *Boadicea* severely beaten, his Daughters ravish'd, the Princes of the Blood treated as Slaves, and the Great Men of the Country deprived of their Estates as if they had been part of our Conquests. This People, incens'd at this injurious dealing, and in Apprehension often to suffer the like, since the Kingdom was reduced to a Province, shook off the Roman Yoke, and drawing in the *Trinobantes*, and other Nations, not yet accusom'd to Servitude, made a Plot to regain their Liberty. They began to discharge their Fury first on the Veteran Soldiers, whom they mortally hated: These had lately been transplanted to *Camalodunum*, where they acted like petty Tyrants, forcing the Inhabitants out of their Estates and Houses, and treating them like Prisoners

and Slaves. They were abetted in this by the other Souldiers, partly out of Similitude of Temper, and partly in Hopes one Day to enjoy the same Licence. Besides all this, the People were enraged to see a Temple dedicated to *Claudius* among them, as a Pledge of their irretrievable Slavery, and Priests placed in it who make themselves Masters of all they had, under Colour of Religion. But the chief Motive which induced them to Attack this Place, was the hopes of gaining it without much Difficulty, because those who built it had been more curious to make it fine than strong, and no Rampart to defend it.

32. In the mean time Divine Accidents happened. The Image of *Victory* in the City fell on a sudden without any apparent cause, the Face turned behind as if she had quitted her Post to the Enemies. Women seized on a sudden with a Prophetic Rage, denoticed the approaching Calamity. Strange Voices were heard in the publick Places of Meeting, and the Theater resounded with horrible Shrieks. At the Mouth of the *Thames* appeared the Images of Colonies destroyed. The Sea was of the Colour of Blood, and in it's Retreat left Phantoms of Human Bodies; which was esteemed Auspicious by the barbarous People, and Ominous by our Souldiers. The General being absent, the Veterans demanded Assistance of *Catus Decianus* Intendant of the Province: He sent them two hundred Men not very well arm'd, besides some few Souldiers who were there. These depending on the Protection of the Temple, or managed by the Artifice of some Traytors, without taking any Care to Intrench and Fortifie themselves, or send away the useles People, stood secure as in a profound Peace, and were soon over-run by the Multitude of the Enemy: All was taken and burnt in an Instant, except the Temple, which held out two Days by reason of the Garison, which retired into it. From hence they marched against the

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Ninth Legion, who came to their Assistance under the Command of *Petilius Cerealis*, and cut the Infantry in pieces. The Horse escaped with the Commander, where they lay covered under their Works. Upon the News of this Defeat, *Catus*, the Intendant, fearing the Odium of the People, who ascribed this Revolt to his Avarice, fled into *Gaul*.

33. The General with an admirable Resolution passed thro' the midst of the Enemy, and came to *London*, a place at that time very considerable for Commerce, and Concourse of Traders, tho' it was not erected into a Colony: He debated for some time if he should expose the Enemy here; but reflecting that he had few Forces, and *Petilius* had ruined himself by his Rashness, resolv'd to quit it, without regarding the Cries and Tears of the Inhabitants, preferring the Loss of one Town to save a Province. Those who would follow him he received into his Troops, others whom Age, or the Sweetness of the Place detained behind, were cut off by the Enemy. *Verulamium* was treated in the same manner. They neither stopt to take Castles or Forts in which Garisons were, but Plundering and Ravaging all Defenceless Places to load themselves with Booty, boasted on to the more considerable. It's certain near seventy thousand Citizens and Allies were killed in those Places and Engagements I mentioned: No Quarter was given, no Prisoners made, but as if they had foreseen they should be severely chastised for this Revolt, they made all hast to prevent our Vengeance, talking of nothing but Crosses, Gibbets, Fire for those who had escaped the fury of their Arms.

34. Our General having collected the Fourteenth Legion, with the *Vexillarii* of the Twentieth, and neighbouring Allies, made a small Body of near ten thousand Men, and resolved to attack them, rather than prolong the War: He chose out for the Field of Battle a narrow Spot of Ground, having a large Plain

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in the Front, and a Forest in the Rear, where he was secure from all Ambuscade. He posted the Legions in the middle, close to each other, round these he drew his light armed Troops, and the Horse on the Wings. The Britains covered the Plain with their Battalions and Squadrons, triumphing in the Multitude of their Forces, never before so numerous; and bringing their Wives with them to be Spectators of their Victory. The Women were placed in Waggon along the Edge of the Field.

35. Boadicea, drawn in a Chariot with her two Daughters before her, passed thro' the Army, crying, where ever she came, *This was not the first time the Britains had been Victorious under the Conduct of their Queen. That she would not now consider her Wealth, Grandeur, or Kingdom, which the Romans had Usurped; that equal with the meanest Person she came thither to revenge the Affront done to her Daughters; to demand the Reason of her Confinement, and the Injuries she received. That nothing could be feared from the Roman Lust, either by Age, Sex, or Quality. But that the Gods were now come to punish 'em. That one of their Legions, which had hazarded a Battle, was already cut to Pieces. That the rest remain'd trembling in their Camp contriving how to Retreat, rather than Fight. That far enough from sustaining the Attack of a victorious Army, they could not abide the Noise and Shouts of so mighty a Multitude. That the Britains should consider their Number and the Justice of their Quarrel, and resolve to conquer or die in the Field. That this was a Woman's Resolution. That the Men, if they pleased, might survive and live in Slavery.*

36. Suetonius, on our part, was not Idle in so threatening a Danger: However, he was assur'd of the Valour and Fidelity of his Soldiers, yet he did not omit to encourage them with an Harangue to this effect: *That they should contemn the Shouts and Menaces of a barbarous Multitude. That there were more Women than fighting Men amongst them. That most of them destitute of Arms or Courage,*

*would betake themselves to Flight whenever they should see the victorious Arm of the Romans. That in the greatest Armies the Decision of the Battle depended on a few Persons. That their Glory would be the greater when a few shared it. That they should Fight close to each other, and take the Sword in Hand after they had flung their Javelins. That they should amuse themselves about the Booty, which could not escape the Conqueror.* This short Speech was received with such Acclamation, and the Countenance of the old Soldiers appeared so resolute, that he did not doubt of Victory, and commanded the Signal to be given for the Attack.

37. They instantly flung their Javelins without quitting the advantage of the Post; but when their Darts were spent, they made an impetuous Sally on the Enemy, who by this time were advanced near them, in which they were seconded by the Allies with the same Ardour. The Horse trampled down all that stood before them, and the rest fled to save themselves, which they could not do without difficulty, being hindred by the Circle of Waggon which blockt up their Way. The Soldiers spared no Age or Sex, and the Beasts themselves stuck thro' encreased the Heaps of Dead. This was a great Victory, and comparable to the most famous Defeats; some computed the Enemies loss to be fourscore thousand slain; and of our side not above four hundred killed, and near as many wounded. The Queen Boadicea poisoned herself. *Panius Posthumus*, Camp-Mareschal, who was not concerned in this Action of the Second Legion, having Advice of the Victory, stabb'd himself out of Regret that he had disobey'd his General against the Law of Arms, and hindred his Soldiers from having a share in the Honour of the Day.

38. To reduce the Remainder of this Rebellion, it was resolved the Army should be reunited and encamped. The Emperour sent to Germany Two thousand

Men of the Legions, Eight Cohorts of the Allies, and a Thousand Horse. The First served to compleat the Ninth Legion. The Horse and the Allies were put into new Winter-quarters, and all were plunder'd who had deserted our side, or stood Neuter. But nothing incommoded this barbarous People more than Famine, who had neglected to save their Fields in hopes of Conquest and Booty. Besides this, they had carried all their People into the Field; but it was a long time before they could reduce that warlike Nation, which was occasion'd by a Dissention between the Commanders, *Junius Classicianus*, who succeeded *Catus*, having a secret Pique against the General, and preferring his private Passion to the Publick Interest: This proclaimed every-where, *That if another Commander should be sent to supply Suetonius's Place, he could with ease put an end to all Differences. That the best way would be to lay aside the Pride and Cruelty of a Conqueror, and treat the vanquished People with Lenity and Mildness.* At the same time he writ to Rome, *That no Hopes could be had of finishing this War till Suetonius should be recalled, ascribing all his Success to the good Fortune of the Empire, and all his adverse to his own ill Conduct.*

39. For this Reason the Court sent *Polycletus*, a Freeman of Nero, to inspect the Posture of Affairs. The Emperour hoping by his Mediation, to end the Differences between the Parties, and Compose the unsettled State of the Province. This Man did not fail, after he had struck an Awe into *Italy* and *Gaul* with his numerous Train, to render himself terrible to our Army. But the barbarous People bred to Liberty, and Strangers to the Authority of Free-men, publicly laugh'd at this Proceeding, amazed to see a General and a victorious Army obey the Orders of a Slave. All things were represented favourably to the Emperour, and *Suetonius* kept his Command; but some time after he was obliged to resign and put the Army into the Hands of

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*Petronius Turpilianus*, who was just out of his Consulat. The Pretext of Displacing him, was the loss of some Gallies on the Coast with their whole Crew. *Petronius* without molesting the Enemy, or being molested by them, gave the specious Name of Peace to his lazy idle Life.

40. In the same Year, two great Villanies were committed at Rome; the one by a Senator, and the other by a Slave. *Domitius Balbus*, a Pretorian, having no Children, was a proper Subject for their Roguery, by his great Age and Wealth. He was set on by one of his Relations, *Valerius Fabianus*, a Man designed for Dignity; who together with two Roman Knights, *Vicius Rufinus* and *Terentius Lentinus*, and *Antonius Primus* and *Asinius Marcellus* Accomplices, forged a false Testament for his Cousin, in which he named himself his Heir. *Antonius* was more daring, *Marcellus* a Man of a better Reputation, and great Grand-son to *Asinius Pollio*, but indigent, and of the Humour of those, who think no Evil greater than Poverty. *Fabianus* engaged these Men to Sign the Testament, together with some Persons of less Note. The Roguery being detected, and the Offenders convicted in full Senate, *Fabianus*, *Antonius*, *Rufinus* and *Terentius*, were punished with the utmost Severity of the Law. But *Marcellus* was excused at the instance of the Emperour, in regard of his Family, and escaped the Punishment, tho' not without Infamy. This Affair ruin'd *Pompeius Elianus*, who had been Questor, and *Valerius Ponticus*, the latter as an Accomplice, the former for prevaricating; it being alledged, he had given Information against the Criminals, before the Pretor, to divert the Governour of Rome from inquiring into the Matter, and desisting from his Charge to save them afterwards. They were both banished *Italy*; and the first confined to *Spain*, his native Country; And an Act was made to Punish all Persons, who should hereafter give any Countenance to, or concern



concern themselves in things of this Nature, in the same manner, with Persons Condemn'd of Calumny.

41. Not long after *Publius Secundus*, Governour of Rome, was kill'd by one of his Slaves; out of a sudden Resentment, that he had not granted him his Liberty, after the Rate that had been agreed on; or in a Passion of Jealousie for a Boy he loved; the Slave, not being able to endure his Master for a Rival. Now Custom condemning all who were in the House, at the time of the Murder, a great Disturbance hapned amongst the People, who endeavour'd to defend the Innocent. The Senate itself was divided, tho' the Majority were for making no Alteration.

42. *Cassius* who was of this Opinion, made a Speech to the Senate, to this or the like Purpose: Gentlemen, I have frequently heard in this Company, things propos'd, contrary to the Laws and Customs of our Ancestors, to all which I have made little, or no Opposition: This Compliance has proceeded from a certain Modesty in me, and fear of being thought partial, or fond of my own Sense; who profess a greater Veneration for every thing that is ancient, than any Opinion we could amend what they have left us, or make any new Regulations which should not be for the worse. For the rest I was unwilling to spend the poor Remains of Authority we have yet left, in vain Contests, resolving to preserve this for a season, when my Opinion might be of more Service to the Republick. I think that time is now come. Gentlemen, when we see a Consular Man murder'd in his House, by his Slave, and no one concern themselves to prevent it, or discover it; If such things can happen at a time when the Law is so rigorous in this matter, what can we hope for when they shall be Abrogated? Can we place a Confidence in our Dignities, or the number of our Servants, whilst we see a Governour of Rome with four hundred Slaves could not secure himself? What Assistance must we expect from them in time of Impunity, when the fear of Punishment cannot engage them in our Defence? Will any one reply, That this was a particular Revenge;

as I see some Persons, who are not ashamed to tell us, The Slave had treated with his Master for his Liberty; that it was agreed, his Father should pay a certain Sum for his Ransom, and that his Master had robb'd him of a Boy; he was in love with. Let us pronounce him Innocent, and his Master justly killed.

43. If we have liberty to inquire into the Reasons of Ancient Laws, and determine all things according to our Discretion; how can we imagine a Slave could execute such a Crime without suffering some Menace, or bold Word to escape him? Admit he had conceal'd his Design, and provided Arms privately; How could he impose on so many Persons, who were oblig'd to have a watchful Eye for their Master's Preservation? Was it possible, for him to open the Door of the Chamber, bring in a Light, or commit a Murder, without being perceived? No; Gentlemen, the Case is clear to all, who will give Attention to it; and without such wholsom Laws, how shall we be secure amongst so many Enemies, or ill People, who are daily about us? Our Security depends on their Vigilance, and if we have timely Notice, we may at least sell our Lives at a dear Rate. Our Ancestours were diffident of their Slaves at a time when they were born in their Houses, bred together, and suckt in Affection with their Mother-milk. In what condition must we then be, who are served by Foreigners, who have neither the same Religion, Laws, nor the same Gods with us? and sometimes none at all. Can we think to keep them in their Duty by any other means than by Fear? It may be objected, Several innocent Persons will perish: What then? is not this done in War, in Decimation of Soldiers? where the Lot doubtless often falls on some unfortunate brave Fellows. All great Severities have some things of Injustice, but the Wrong done private Persons is recompens'd by the Benefit which the Publick receives.

44. No one did dare to reply, but a great number murmured, moved with compassion of the Age, Sex or Innocence of the Persons involv'd in this Calamity. Yet in great Opposition, the Populace getting together, threat-



threatned to fling the Officers into the Fire, or knock them on the Head. But the Emperour having Advice of their Insolence, first reprimanded them by a publick Proclamation, and order'd the Streets, which led to the place of Execution, to be lined with Soldiers to prevent any Disturbance which might happen. *Cingonius Varro* advis'd the banishing all the Freed-men, who were in the House, at the time of the Murder; but the Emperour opposed it, being unwilling to add any thing to the Severity of our Ancestors.

45. Under the same Consuls, *Tarquitius Priscus*, Governour of *Bithynia*, was accused by his Province, and condemned for Bribery, to the general Content of the Senate, who remembred he had been the Instrument of the Death of *Statilius Taurus*, his Proconsul. A general Review of the Gauls was made by *Quintus Volusius*, *Sextus Africanus* and *Trebellius Maximus*, but the two former traversing each other, animated by a Jealousie of their Birth and Rank, only served to raise the other whom they contemned.

46. *Memmius Regulus* died this Year, after he had raised himself to such a pitch of Credit and Esteem, as a private Person could arrive at under a Prince. *Nero* was so well assured of his Integrity, that upon a certain time being ill, and the Courtiers to flatter him, told him, *The Empire must sink with him*. He replied, *It would find a Support in the Person of Regulus*. He made a shift to preserve Life undisturb'd, being of no ancient House, and moderate Wealth. This year *Nero* set apart a publick place for the Greek Exercises, and gave Oyl to the Senators, and Knights, according to the Custom of that Country, which allows such sort of Presents.

47. In the Consulat of *Publius Marius* and *Cajus Asinius* the Prator, *Antistius*, who had behaved himself with an excessive Liberty, in his Tribunat, as I before noted, made Verses which reflected on the Emperour, and dispersed them at a great Entertainment, in the House

of *Ostorius Scapula*: Upon which he was accused of High Treason by *Cossutianus Capito*, who had been lately restored in the Senate, by the Interest of *Tigellius*, his Father-in-law. Every one began now to fear they would revive the Severity of the former Reigns; but in the Issue it appeared not so much a Design to ruine *Antistius*, as an Artifice to extol the Clemency of *Nero*, in pardoning him after he had been condemned by the Senate. *Ostorius* confessed nothing which could prejudice him, but they relied on the Depositions of some others. *Junius Marullus*, Consul design'd, was of Opinion, he ought to be Degraded, and punish'd with Death, according to the ancient Custom. All declared their Opinions for the same Method, till *Thrasea Patru* stemmed the Tide, who first Extolling the Emperour, and blaming *Antistius*, declar'd, *He could not conceive what could move the Senate, to inflict so cruel a Punishment under so mild a Prince; or proceed against Antistius with the utmost Rigour of the Law, tho' his Fault had been very great. That Halters and Gibbets had been now for some time laid aside, with People of his Rank, and other Punishments less ignominious used in their stead. That such a severe way of Proceeding would very much blemish the Glory of the Emperour and Senate; that his Goods ought to be confiscated, and himself banish'd into some remote Island, where he might languish out the Remains of a miserable Life; that such mild Usage would render him an eternal Example of the Clemency of the Age.* The freedom of this Speech, inspired the Senate with Courage, and the Consul permitting every Man to take what side he liked best, all declared for this, excepting some few Slaves of the Court, of which number *Vitellius* was principal, a Man who perpetually abused and traduced all Persons of Honour; but, like all mean-spirited Fellows, was silent, when he met with a brisk Opposition. The Consuls did not dare to proceed farther, without giving the Emperour notice, and acquainting him with the Issue of the Debate. The Em-

Emperour when he found how the Senate were affected, stood for some Moments silent, divided between Rage, and Shame; replying after some Pause, That *Antistius* had affronted him in a very heinous manner, without any Provocation: That it would have been just to have inflicted a Punishment equal to his Crime, since he had demanded Reparation of the Senate; but for his part he had no Intention to oppose their Clemency, since himself had first of all put a Check to their Rigour. That they might do what they pleased, and Pardon him if they thought fit.

48. This Answer was read; and however the Emperour's Indignation was visible, the Senate did not retract from their Resolve, nor the Consuls renew the Debate, for under Pretence of securing the Emperour from the publick Odium, others thinking themselves secure in their Numbers; and *Thrasea*, out of his Greatness of Courage, unwilling to lose the Honour he had so lately won, *Fabius Veiento* was soon after accused by *Falvius Geminius*, of a like Crime, for being the Author of a Libel, under the Title of *His last Will and Testament*, in which he reflected on the Senators, and Pontiffs. The Accuser added *He had exposed to sale the Emperour's Favour, and Preferments*; which last Article obliged *Nero* to take Cognisance of this Affair. He was convicted, and expelled *Italy*, his Books ordered to be burnt; which were extremely sought after, whilst there was Danger in keeping them; but after, the Facility soon created Disgust.

49. But the great Misfortune was, the Publick Grievances begun every Day to encrease, and the Remedies to fail. *Burrhus* died next, whether by Poison, or natural Distemper is uncertain: His Throat began to swell, which hindered Respiration, and gave occasion to believe his Death was natural. But the greatest part believ'd it the Effect of some noxious Drugs which the Emperour sent him under colour of a Medicine to gargle his Throat. To confirm this, they add, That *Burrhus*

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was sensible of the Treachery, when *Nero* came to visit him in his Illness, and began to ask him how he found himself, was observ'd only to have turn'd his back, replying, *Very well, I think*. This Man was very much regretted in Rome, which Passion was augmented by comparing the Memory of his Virtues with the Vices of his Successors. The Emperour conferred his Places on *Favus Rufus* and *Sofonius Tigellinus*; the first, to please the People, who loved him for his Integrity, having gone thro' the Office of Commissary of the Provisions without Fee or Reward, tho' otherwise a weak half-witted Man. The other, *Tigellinus*, a Man of a debauch'd infamous Life, who placing his Glory in the Profession of Vice, recommended him to *Nero*; whilst the Popularity of *Favus*, and his Credit with the People and Army, render'd him suspect.

50. The Death of *Burrhus* lessen'd the Power of *Seneca*, and good Counsels now began to lose Credit, not being seconded as before; and the Emperour inclin'd to follow bad. The Enemies of this Great Man began now to Attack him on all sides, objecting, That his immense Wealth exceeded the Condition of a Subject. That he courted the Favour of the People. That he surpassed the Emperour himself in the Magnificence of his Gardens and Houses of Pleasure. That he ascribed the Glory of Eloquence to himself: Practised writing in Verse since the Emperour had discover'd a Passion for it. That he had presumed in Publick to ridicule his Address in Driving Chariots; and his Excellence in Musick. Demanding, How long he would content himself with admitting another to share the Glory of all the good Acts of his Reign? That he was now out of his Maturity, in the Vigour of his Age. That he could act without a Governour, and needed no other Instruction than the Example of his Ancestors.

51. *Seneca* informed of these Calumnies, and by such generous Friends who had a Deference for Virtue, and perceiving the Emperour did not receive him with his usual

usual Kindness, intreats him to grant him a Day of Audience; and then addresses himself to him in the following manner: Great SIR, This is the fourteenth Year I have been employed in your Service, and the eighth since your Accession to the Throne; during all which Time you have loaded me with so much Wealth and Honour, my Fortune has wanted nothing but Moderation: Give me leave to imitate some of the greatest Men of Rome, which illustrious Instances are more proper for your Greatness than my Meanness: Augustus, your Predecessor, permitted Agrippa to retire to Mitylene; and consented that Mecænas in the midst of Rome should enjoy the Privacy of a Country Life; after one had been his constant Companion in the Danger of the Camp, and the other shared the Weight of Business; and both received the just Reward of their extraordinary Services. For my part I could never make Pretence to merit your Liberality; all I have done has been serving your private Studies: I have had the Honour to be the Director of your first Essays in Study. But you have so abundantly rewarded my Labours by infinite Favours, and the Wealth you have profusely heaped on me, that when I reflect on your great Generosity, I am forced to say, Is it possible that a Stranger, as I am, of ordinary Extraction, should be rankt with the prime Men of Rome? How will mine sound among those great Names rever'd for a Succession of Ages? Where is the Mind content with a moderate Fortune? I that have such magnificent Gardens, such sumptuous Palaces, such a vast Estate in Land and Money.

The only Excuse I have is, It did not become me to refuse the Liberality of my Master. But we have both done enough, you have bestowed on me all that a Prince can give; and I have received all that a Subject is capable of; more would but expose me to Envy, which not daring to Attack your sacred Person, will not fail to discharge its Violence on me: It is I must seek Shelter from this Storm; like a weary Traveller, or a Soldier worn-out with the Fatigues of War; I petition for my Repose, to grant this to my Age, and discharge me from those Cares which disturb the Serenity of my Life.

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Let my Estate be manag'd by your Receivers, as a Branch of the Imperial Revenues. I do not court Poverty, but earnestly desire to be delivered from a Burden which I am unable to sustain from a false Glittering which distracts my Sight. How happy should I be to save the Time commonly bestowed in ordering my Gardens, and disposing my Revenue, to employ it in the Study of Philosophy! You are now in the Vigour of your Age, and your Empire establish'd by a Reign of several Years, and able to support itself, and your old Servants may be left to enjoy their Repose. It will redound to your eternal Honour to have made choice of such Men for your Ministers who could condemn Fortune.

52. Nero replied immediately in these, or Words to the like purpose: I shall answer this meditated Discourse of yours extempore, which is an Advantage I owe to your Instructions. Augustus my Ancestor did indeed give Agrippa and Mecenas leave to retire from Court; but this was at an Age when the Authority he had gained, could preserve to them the Possession of what he had bestowed on them; he never deprived them of what he had given them as the Merit of their long Services, and the Dangers they had past thro' in the Youth of that Prince. I assure myself you would have assisted me with your Arm and your Sword if I had stood in need of them as he did; instead of that, you have assisted me with your Instructions and Advice, and directed my Youth: These Obligations are so great, I shall preserve the Memory of them so long as I live. What I have given you, are Houses, Wealth, Gardens, Presents of Fortune subject to perish; and however great they may appear to you, a great many Persons of less Merit than Seneca possess more: I blush to see Freed-men richer than you; and that you, who have the first place in my Empire, should not be the first Man in my Empire.

53. You are in a vigorous Age, capable of Business and Recompence: Can you place yourself below Vitellius, who was thrice Consul; or think Claudius more liberal than Nero? All my Liberality has not equal'd your Wealth to what Vitellius has got by Sparing. Will not you stay with me to give

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a check to my youthful Fancy, which enclines too much to Pleasure, and govern that Appetite which would know no other Bounds than its Fortune? If you forsake me, and retire from Court, the World will never ascribe this Action to your Love of Ease, no more than they will commend your Moderation in resigning your Estate. Every Body will exclaim against my Cruelty and Avarice. Admit your Moderation in this matter should be commended, it does not become a wise Man to seek Reputation at his Friend's Expence, and raise his Glory by another Man's Infamy. After these Words, he Kisses and Embraces him, taught by Nature and Art to conceal his Sentiments, and disguise his Hatred with false Caresses. Seneca answered with Submission, returning his humble Thanks, the usual End of all Discourses with great Princes: But after altered his Course of Life, admitted few Visits, appeared in Publick with a small Retinue, pretending to be indisposed or engaged in the Study of Philosophy.

54. Seneca being thus Disgrac'd, it was no difficult matter to lessen the Interest of *Fenius Rufus*, to whom the Friendship of *Agrippina* was objected. In the meantime the Interest of *Tigellinus* encreased, who, to give the better Turn to his ill Life, was resolved to engage *Nero* in all his Lewdness. And discovering that the Persons whom the Emperour apprehended most, were *Sylla* and *Plantus*, both exiled lately, the latter into *Asia*, and the former into *Gaul*, he endeavoured to render them suspected, urging, That they were both Persons of great Extraction: That the one had the Legions in the Levant; the other those of Germany in their Neighbourhood: That he had not, like *Burrhus*, a separate Interest: That his great Concern was the Emperour's Preservation, on whom depended all his Fortune: That he might with ease be secure against any ill Practices at Rome, where his Presence was sufficient to disperse the gathering Clouds: That he did not dare to give the same Assurance of the remote Provinces: That *Gaul* would be influenced by the Name of a Dictator; and the People

People of *Asia* by the Fame of a Grandson of *Drusus*: That *Sylla* was Indigent, and the Lowness of his Fortune might tempt him to engage in desperate Designs: That for the present he covered his ambitious Designs under the Colour of an idle unactive Life, till he had Opportunity to put his rash Project in Execution.

55. That *Plantus* was exceeding Wealthy, and would not so much as pretend to be in love with a private Life; but with a great deal of Arrogance and Vanity, pretended to imitate the ancient Romans: That he had embraced the Stoicks, a Sect which makes its Proselytes Busy and Turbulent. Without delaying further, *Sylla* was killed within six Days after at *Marseilles*, by Assassins sent express thither, whilst he was at Table with his Friends; the Blow coming before any Rumour or Apprehension of it. The Head was brought to *Nero*, who rallied at its being Gray before the time. The Murther of *Plantus* could not well be kept secret upon account of the length of the Journey, and a Multitude of People concern'd for his Preservation. There was a common Rumour, That he immediately upon notice went over to *Corbulo*, who had the Command of a gallant Army (who ought to fear one of the first, whenever brave and innocent Men were thus barbarously Murther'd without Cause:) That *Asia* had taken up Arms in his Favour: That the Soldiers sent to kill him, wanting Strength and Resolution to perform their Parts, were gone over to his side. These, like other Rumours, were variously reported, and added according to the Humour of the Relator. While the Town entertained itself with these sort of Discourses, a Freed-man of *Plantus's*, by the help of a favourable Wind, arrived before the Centurion who had Orders to kill him, and brought him Letters from his Father-in-law *Antistius*, advising him to be upon his Guard, not to die a base cowardly Death; nor vainly to hope they would have any Compassion for his Goodness: That he would find some honest daring Men who would engage in his Defence: That no Means were

*to be neglected: That in case he could muster up Force enough to repulse the sixty Soldiers sent against him, divers Accidents might happen before the News could be brought to Court: That he might gain Time to provide for his Defence; and perhaps the Publick Discontent might break out into a Publick War. That he might by this means escape, or protract his Ruin, at least not hasten it, since whether Innocent or Culpable, his Death was resolved on.*

56. *Plautus, either destitute of Friends, or Interest, or tired with languishing in a long Uncertainty, or unwilling to expose his Family to the Emperour's Resentment, resolved with Patience to attend the Emperour's Pleasure. Others tell us he received later Intelligence from his Father-in-law, That he had nothing now to fear. They farther tell us, he had two Philosophers, Caranus and Musonius, the one a Greek, the other a Tuscan, who both exhorted him to embrace Death with a generous Resolution, rather than live in a perpetual Fear and Disquiet. The Centurion found him Naked at Noon, exercising his Body, and killed him in that Posture, in the Presence of Pelagon, the Eunuch, who was sent to give Direction in that Affair: His Head was brought to the Emperour, who upon sight of it, cried, Who shall now hinder Nero from marrying his beloved Mistress, and Divorcing his Wife, insupportable for the Memory of her Father, and the Affection which the People bear to her? He wrote to the Senate, That Sylla and Plautus were a Couple of turbulent Spirits; without taking any notice of the manner of their Death. That he would be careful for the Preservation of the Commonwealth. After all was over, they were expelled the Senate as if living, and publick Processions made; the Infamy exceeding the real Evil.*

57. *The Emperour seeing all his Crimes consecrated by the Senate, Divorces Octavia, under Pretence of Barrenness, and marries Poppæa; she who had long been his Strumpet being now become his Wife, and having got*  
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*the Ascendent over her new Husband, corrupts a Domestick of the Empress's to accuse her of Adultery with a Player on the Flute of Alexandria, by Name Eucernus: Her Women were put to the Question, and some of them, not able to endure the Rigour of the Torments, confessed whatever they desired; but the greatest part persisted to justify the Honour of their Mistress: And one replied to Tigellinus, who pressed her to confess, She believ'd his Mouth was not so chaste as her Ar—. Nero at first did only remove her, under Pretence of the Divorce, and gave her Burrhus's Palace and Plautus's Lands; ominous Presages of her Fate. She was afterwards banish'd into the Province of Campania, where she had Guards set upon her; but upon the Clamour of the People, (who having nothing to lose, are commonly fearless, not out of any Love, or Relenting at his Severity,) this was remitted.*

58. *Upon this Turn the People flocked in great Numbers to the Capitol to give Thanks to the Gods for the joyful News. They began to throw down the Statues of Poppæa, to adorn those of Octavia with Flowers, and carry them to the Temples, and other Publick Places. The Palaces rang with their Acclamations and Shouts, when a Troop of Soldiers, issuing out with drawn Swords, laying about them, dispersed the Multitude. The Disorders they had committed were soon rectified, and the Statues of Poppæa re-erected. She who always acted by vehement Fear or Hatred, apprehending the Insults of the People, or that Nero's Affection by this Accident might be changed, flung herself at his Feet, crying, That she was ready to resign all her Pretensions, tho' they were more dear to her than her Life: That her Head was now the Stake which she stood in danger of losing by the Artifices of Octavia and her Faction, who had usurped the Name of the People, and attempted that in a time of Peace, which they did not dare to do during the War: That he was the Mark which they aimed at: That this Tumult would soon find some to Head it, if it were suffered to*

proceed, and she be permitted to return to the City, who was capable of raising so threatening a Sedition in her absence: That for her part she was not conscious of having done any thing to animate the People against her, unless they esteemed her Ambition of giving a Rightful Heir to the Imperial Family, criminal; or preferred the Bastard of an African Fluter in the Throne: That if he thought it expedient in the present Juncture, he ought to resume his late Lady, or provide for her Security by punishing the Authors of this Affront: That these seditious Tumults were easily stifled in their beginnings: That if they should once despair of Octavia's being reconciled to Nero, they would soon provide her another Husband.

59. This Language, full of Art and Malice, created in the Breast of Nero Apprehensions of Fear, and a Resolution of Revenge. There was yet no plausible Crime that could be found to object to her: The Adultery made little Impression on the Minds of the People; and most of her Women had acquitted her upon their Examination. It was for this reason thought fit to fix on some Person of more Consideration, who might be accused of the same thing, with some Design against the Government. *Anicetus* was agreed on as the most proper Person to act this Part; he was Admiral of the Gallies at *Misene*, and had already been famous for the Murder of *Agrippina*, which Action had for some small time recommended him to the Favour of *Nero*, but after render'd him odious, as ordinarily all Actors of any Villany are, whose Presence ever reproaches the Authors. The Emperour sends for him, declares the Obligation he had to him, who alone had deliver'd him from the Practices of his Mother. That this was nothing, unless he deliver'd him from those of his Wife: That he did not now stand in need of his Arm or his Sword; he only desired he would confess an Adultery of Octavia. He promises him a mighty Reward, which for some time must be concealed; and threatens him with Death in case of Refusal. *Anicetus*, villanous by Nature, and blown up by the

the Success of his former Crime, exceeds the Emperour's Desire, and feigns several Particulars, and confesses all in the Presence of some of the Emperour's Friends, who were provided for this purpose. He was order'd to retire into *Sardinia*, where he was supplied with all Conveniences of Life, and at last died a Natural Death.

60. But *Nero* forgetting he had lately accused her of Barrenness, now pretends in his Declaration, She had corrupted *Anicetus* in hopes of making herself Mistress of the Fleet, and had, at several times, procured Abortions to conceal her Debauches, and Banishes her into the Isle of *Pandataire*. Never was the People of Rome more concerned at any Misfortune; *Agrippina* had been Banished by *Tiberius*, and *Julia* by *Claudius*, but they were of Age to support their Misfortunes, and could comfort themselves with the memory of a better Fortune: But this unfortunate Lady had never any Taste of Happiness. The Day of her Marriage was fatal to her, and had caused the Death of her Father and Brother. She saw her Slave her Rival, and soon after take her place in the Affection of her Husband, procure her Divorce and Banishment.

61. She saw herself exiled for a Crime worse than Death itself, and, at twenty Years of Age, exposed to the Mercy of Soldiers and Centurions, already dead in the Opinion of the World, and her own, tho' deprived of the Repose of that State. Some few Days after she was ordered to Die, tho' she pretended no longer to the Title of Wife, and contented herself with that of Sister. It was in vain now to call on the Memory of *Germanicus*, and her Alliance with him, or *Agrippina*, who had protected her, tho' she had been the cause of her Misfortune. A Ligature was made on her Limbs, and the Veins cut; and because her Blood flowed out slowly, either through her Weakness or Apprehension, they stifled her with the Vapour of a

hot Bath. For the compleating this Tragedy, her Head was brought to glut the Eyes of her Rival, *Poppæa*. The Senate commanded Oblations in the Temples, which I relate with intention to shew those who shall read this History, that as often as the Emperour decreed these Murthers and Banishments, the Senate never fail'd to return Thanks to the Gods; and that which was antiently the Mark of our Triumphs, was now become the Body of our Slavery. I shall never omit to relate the Decrees of the Senate, which contain any extraordinary Flattery, or base Submission.

62. The Emperour's principal Freed-men died this Year, among whom we believe were poysoned *Doryphorus*, for opposing the Marriage of *Poppæa*; and *Pallas*, for his vast Wealth, which he was thought to detain too long out of the Prince's Coffers, by an excessive Age; and *Romanus* for attempting to ruin *Seneca*, whom he accused of too great Correspondence with *Piso*: But *Seneca* more potent, ruined him. From this sprang the Fear and Jealousie of *Piso*, and that great Conspiracy, which, in the Issue, only proved fatal to its Author.

THE

T H E  
A N N A L S  
O F  
CORNELIUS TACITUS.

The Fifteenth Book.

IN the midst of these Affairs, *Vologeses* King of *Parthia*, informed of *Corbulo's* Proceedings, and seeing his Brother *Tiridates* expell'd the Kingdom of *Armenia*, conferred on *Tigranes* a Foreigner, without Regard to the ancient Race of the *Arfacida*, resolves to revenge the Affront. But reflecting on the potent Condition of the *Romans*, and the strict Alliance so long preserv'd between the two People; considering further that the Revolt of the *Hircani*, a potent People, had involv'd him in a troublesom War, besides his irresolute Temper, he remained in this Wavering. In the midst of this uncertain State, he received News that *Tigranes* had ravaged the *Adiabeni*, a neighbouring Province; and not contenting himself with Incurfions on the Frontiers, had put all the Country to Fire and Sword. This Affront added to the rest, enraged him highly, which was encreased by the

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Murmuring of the Nobility, to find themselves insulted by a Slave, who had remained so long time among the Hostages at Rome. Beside all this, he was importuned incessantly by *Monobazus*, a Prince of the *Adiabeni*, who demanded, where, or to whom, they must apply for Protection? Urging that *Armenia* was already abandon'd to the Enemy. That in case he would not better provide for their Defence, they would surrender all up into the Hands of the *Romans*, without Opposition, and so make a more advantageous Composition. On the other side, *Tiridates*, depriv'd of his Kingdom, by his Silence, or modest Complaints, seem'd to reproach him: That mighty Empires are not to be maintained by a lassive unactive Life: That they must try their Courage, and Strength: That among foreign Princes, the Justice of their Cause depends on their Power: That the Vertue of private Persons is very different from that of Princes, one aims to preserve their own Estate, and the other to conquer that of another.

2. *Vologeses* moved with these Reasons, summon'd Council, and placing *Tiridates* by his side, makes an Harangue in the following Words: *This young Prince, whom you see here, having yielded the Crown of Parthia to me, in Right of Elder Brother, I put him in Possession of Armenia, which is the third Degree of Power; amongst us, our Brother Pacorus having before possess'd himself of the Kingdoms of Media; by this means I hoped I had stifled the Seeds of all Intestine, or Foreign Wars. But to my Surprise, the Romans break that Peace, whose Rupture has been ever fatal to them. I must profess, I would prefer the keeping the Conquests of my Ancestors, rather by the Justice of my Cause, than the Force of Arms. Yet if I have hitherto been deficient, in temporizing; I will now repair all by a vigorous Opposition. Your Glory is unsullied, and the Fame of your Arms is unquestioned. Beside all this, the World publishes your great Moderation and Vertue, which renders those possess'd of it,*

*Grateful to the Gods, and Honour'd amongst Men.* When he had finish'd, he put a Diadem on the Head of *Tiridates*; gave the Command of the Horse-guard which attended on his Person, and the Troops of the *Adiabeni*, to *Moneses* a great Lord, giving him Charge to drive *Tigranes* out of *Armenia*, whilst himself went in Person to chastise the Rebel *Hyrcani*, and collected his whole Force to enter the *Roman* Provinces.

3. *Corbulo* having Advices of these Motions, sends two Legions to the Aid of *Tigranes*, under the Command of *Vernulanus Severus* and *Vestius Bolanus*, with private Instructions, to act with Deliberation, and engage in nothing with Precipitance; acquainting them he now intended the Defence of the Provinces, in case of Invasion, and not to begin an offensive War. In the meanwhile, he sent an Express to the Emperour, to inform him *Armenia* would now require a separate Governour, *Syria* being menaced by the Arms of *Vologeses*. Next he planted his Legions on the Bank of *Euphrates*, arm'd with all expedition part of the Inhabitants of the Province, and posts Garrisons on all the Passes, to prevent the Enemy from entring the Country: After this he fortified all Places which yielded Water, that Country being very ill provided, and stopt up those Springs which he thought not practicable to secure.

4. Whilst these Preparatives were making for the Defence of *Syria*, *Moneses* march'd with all diligence to surprize *Tigranes*, ignorant of his Design, and unprovided for Resistance; but found him on his Guard, fortifying *Tigranocerta*, a place naturally strong, by the height of its Walls, and multitude of its Inhabitants. Besides which, the River *Nicephorus*, of considerable breadth, runs under its Walls, and defends it on one side; and on the other which lay open, he cut a large Trench to cover it. He had fill'd the Town with Men and Provisions, for a vigorous Defence. The Garrison at first received a small Check, a small Party con-

convoying in their Provision, being surpris'd, and cut in pieces by the Enemy; which Accident did more exasperate, than intimidate the rest. *Tiridates*, attempting a Siege, ruin'd his Affairs. The *Parthians* not us'd to a close Fight, proper for a vigorous Assault, spent their scattered Arrows, without hurting the Besieg'd; and the *Adriabeni*, attempting with their Ladders, and other Machines to make an Assault, were repuls'd, and defeated by a Sally of our Men, without the least Difficulty.

5. *Corbulo* seeing these Advantages, was resolv'd not to suffer himself to be blown up with the Pride of his good Fortune, but sends a Message to *Vologeses*, complaining, That he, without regard to his Alliance, and profess'd Amity to the Roman Empire, had invaded *Armenia*, besieged the Legions, and threatening him to bring a War into his Country, if he did not speedily withdraw his Troops. *Cassperius* the Centurion, was sent expresse to deliver this Message, who found him at *Nisibin*, Thirty seven Miles from *Tigranocerta*, and delivered his Commission in something an insolent manner. *Vologeses* had ever been afraid to Oppose the Roman Arms; he saw the present Siege was like to be of long Continuance; That *Tigranes* was powerful; That the first Assault had been unsuccessful; That part of our Legions were entred *Armenia*, and the other menaced his Frontiers. Besides all which, his Horse, in which the *Parthians* repose principal Strength, was weakned for want of Forrage, a mighty number of Locusts having eaten up all Herbs and Leaves. He, concealing his Fear, replied as a Man, who loved to have all brought to an Issue, rather in a peaceful, than a violent manner: That he would send his Ambassadors to *Rome*, to demand the Investiture of *Armenia*, and confirm the ancient Alliance: Commands *Moneses* to raise the Siege of *Tigranocerta*, and retires with his own Army.

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6. This Retreat is commonly thought to proceed from the timorous Temper of that Prince, and the Menaces of *Corbulo*: Tho' some are of Opinion, it was agreed in a private Treaty, That a Cessation of Arms should be; That *Vologeses* should return home; That *Tigranes* should quit *Armenia*. For what other reason should our Troops draw off from *Tigranocerta*, and surrender up in a time of Peace, what they had acquired by War? Can it be imagin'd more commodious for our Legions to Winter in the remotest parts of *Cappadocia*, in Huts and Cabins, than in the Capital of a State, newly put in a condition of Defence? Without all doubt the War was deferred by Consent, to prevent *Vologeses* having any thing to do with *Corbulo*, lest he might lose in an instant that Glory, which he had spent many years in acquiring. As I related before, he had sent for a proper Governour of *Armenia*, and now received Advice, That *Cassennius Patus* was dispatch'd in that Quality. Soon after he arriv'd, the Army was divided into two parts; *Patus* had the Fourth and Twelfth Legion, and the Fifth lately arriv'd from *Mesia*, and the Auxiliary Troops of *Pontus*, *Galatia* and *Cappadocia*. *Corbulo* retained for his own Service, the ancient Troops of *Syria*, with the Third, Sixth, and Tenth Legion: The rest were to be joyn'd, or separated, as occasion should present. But the Misfortune was, the one was impatient of a Rival, and the other could not endure a Superiour; and *Patus*, who ought to have contented himself, in being Second to *Corbulo*, ever took pleasure to diminish the Glory of his Actions, upbraiding him, That his Victories in taking of Towns, was imaginary, without Conquest or Plunder; That he would impose Laws, and demand Contributions, introduce the Roman Power in the place of their Knights, and render them mere Shadows.

7. Whilst Matters were in this posture, the Ambassadors of *Vologeses* return from *Rome*, without obtaining their

their Point ; and the *Parthians* commence an open War? *Patus* without farther Consideration, enters *Armenia*, with the Fourth and Twelfth Legion, one commanded by *Famisulanus Vectonius*, and the other by *Calavius Sabinus*. There hapned an Ominous Prefage, at the first setting out : In the Passage over the *Euphrates*, the Horse which bore the Consular Banner, fled back, all affrighted, without any apparent cause ; and a Victim fled from the Altar, in the Moment it should have been sacrificed ; and left the Ceremony imperfect. The Arrows took Fire, which Prefage was more Fatal, upon the account of the *Parthians*, who only Fight with these Weapons.

8. *Patus* contemning all these Portents, before he had secured his Camp, and furnished it with necessary Provisions, passes Mount *Taurus*, pretending he would retake *Tigranocerta*, and Ravage a Country which *Corbulo* had never touched. He took at the first some few Castles, and gain'd Honour, and Booty enough, if he had known how to keep it ; but amusing himself with making Incursions ; into a Country which he could not keep, he consumed his Provisions, and was constrained to withdraw his Army, upon the Approach of Winter. At the same time, as if he had put an end to the War, he writes Letters to the Emperour, filled with big and pompous Expressions, but empty and thin of real Business.

9. *Corbulo* on the other hand, fortified now more than ever the Bank of *Euphrates* ; and fearing the Enemies, who were in continual Motion over all the Plain, under Protection of their Camp, might obstruct his flinging a Bridge over the River, he fastened several great Vessels with strong Beams, and with Towers planted his Machines, by Favour of which he built his Bridge, and repulsed the Enemy. After this he made himself Master of the Neighbouring Hills, by the Assistance of his Auxiliary Forces, and encamped there himself

himself with his Legions ; all which, he performed with so much Address and Ostentation of his Strength, that the *Parthians* terrified at the Greatness of his Enterprize, quitted their Design on *Syria*, to turn all their Force and Hopes another way.

10. All this while *Patus*, void of all Sense of the Danger which threatned him, kept the Fifth Legion remote in *Pontus*, and weakened the remaining Forces, by a promiscuous Leave given to the Soldiers to be absent. While things stood in this Posture, news arrived, That *Vologeses* was advancing with a powerful army, upon notice of which, perceiving the ill State of his Troops had been discovered by the Enemy, he sends Orders for the Twelfth Legion, to march to his Assistance ; hoping by this means to gain the Reputation of being very Strong. He had Troops enough to have kept his Station, and protracted the War, if he had had either Constancy to pursue his own Resolves, or Docility to be govern'd by the Advice of others. But he, lest he might appear to stand in need of another's Counsel, contemned whatever his Officers proposed, still taking Methods which very often proved worse. And now quitting his Winter-quarters he marches towards the Enemy, making a Feint, as if he intended to give them Battle, boasting, *He was sent to Oppose the Progress of the Enemy by Force of Arms ; not to cast up and cut Trenches*. But losing a Captain, and some Soldiers, which he had sent out to discover the *Parthians* Strength, he returned very much daunted, which lasted till he found himself not pursued with Briskness, and then resuming a vain Confidence, he posted three Thousand of the Flower of his Army, on Mount *Taurus*, to keep the Pass against *Vologeses*. In the Plain beneath, he planted the *Pannonians*, in whom consisted the Strength of his Horse, but privately secured his Wife and Son, in the Castle of *Arsamosata*, in which he put a Cohort in Garrison. After this he dispersed his Troops, where-

whereas in case he had reunited them, he would have been able to resist a Vagabond Enemy, not intreating the Assistance of *Corbulo*, till Extremity, who for his part made no hast to Assist him; by this means to render himself more necessary, and increase his Glory by the Danger. However he sent before a Thousand Men, cull'd out of each Legion, and sixteen Hundred Horse both of the *Romans* and *Allies*.

11. *Vologeses*, without altering his Measures, notwithstanding *Patus* had planted a Detachment to obstruct his Passage, struck a Terrour into the Horse by his Power and Menaces, and over-ran the Infantry; only one Captain, *Tarquitius Crescens* dared to oppose him, who defended himself for a long time in a Tower, which he bravely maintained, making frequent Sallies; killing the Enemy's Men who attackt him, and was only forced by the multitude of Fires, which they flung in. The Remains of the Infantry saved themselves, in the Mountains and other remote and desert Places; the Wounded returned to the Camp, which they filled with dreadful Apprehensions, all magnifying the Valour of the Enemies Troops, the Vastness of their Army, and giving out that no Mercy was to be expected from them: All which was easily received, by those who were seiz'd with the same Terrour. *Patus*, instead of re-assuring them by his Resolution, forgetting the Duty of a General, dispatches Couriers express to *Corbulo*, conjuring him to hasten away, to defend their Eagles and the *Roman* Standard, and preserve the wretched Remains of a routed Army; assuring him of his Fidelity, which he would preserve Inviolable, as long as he lived.

12. *Corbulo*, unacquainted with Fear, leaves part of his Army in *Syria*, to guard the Forts he had built on *Euphrates*, and marching the rest through that part of the Country which had not been ruined, enters *Comagene*, and thence proceeds to *Cappadocia*, and *Armenia*. He

He took with him besides his ordinary Equipage, a great quantity of Corn, loaden on Camels, to prevent having Hunger, and an Enemy upon his Hands at the same time. The first of the Defeated he met upon their Flight, was *Pattius*, Lieutenant-Colonel of a Legion; and after him several Soldiers, who excused their Flight with different Pretences. To all whom he replied, That he had no Protection for Soldiers, but such who return'd with Honour and Victory; his Mildness was only for those who performed their Duty, and obliged them to return to beg Pardon of their General. He represented to his Men the Glory which they already were in possession of; What new Honours they had opportunity of Acquiring. That the Business before them, was not the taking some inconsiderable Town from the *Armenians*, but the Securing the *Roman* Camp, the redeeming Two of our own Regions, which were at stake. If a Crown was bestowed, as a Recompence to private Soldiers, who had saved the Life of a Citizen; what must they expect who were now to save a whole Army? By Speeches of this nature, he redoubled the Ardour which every one had to recover their Relations, and Friends; and kept them marching Day and Night, without Regretting the Fatigue.

13. *Vologeses*, having Intelligence of *Corbulo's* Advance, prest our Men very close, sometimes attacking the Camp, in which they were retrenched; at other times, the Castle where the infirm or disabled People were lodg'd, advancing nearer than the *Parthian* Custom was, to see if he could engage them to fight: But they contented themselves to defend their Retrenchments, some by order of the General, part by their own Cowardice, pretending to wait the Arrival of *Corbulo*, and resolving if they found themselves press'd to Extremity, to follow the Example of *Numantian*, and the *Caudine* Defeat, which Practice they thought they might justify, since the *Parthians* were at this time more potent than the *Carthaginians* or *Sarmites*. They were begin-

ing now to talk that the Ancients were always commended for their Address in suiting all things to the Times, and securing a safe Retreat when Fortune should frown upon them. The General's Heat abated by this Despair, which he found in the Army, attempted nothing, contenting himself with sending Letters, complaining of this Enterprize of Vologeses, on Armenia, which of undoubted Right belonged to the Roman Empire; adding, That an Honourable Peace would be more advantageous to both sides; That Vologeses should not suffer himself to be exalted, by late Success, which was of no great moment. That he should consider he attack'd only two Legions with his whole Force, and that the Emperor had all the rest of the World to defend them.

14. Vologeses gave no direct Answer to this Message, excusing himself, by the Absence of his Brother, without whom he could not determine any thing, in the Affairs of Armenia. That a Time and Place should be resolv'd on, to Debate all things concerning this matter. That they might propose, as they pleas'd with the Legions, only taking care to pay all due Regard to his own, and the Honour of the Arsacids. After this, *Patru* sent other Deputies, desiring a Conference with the King; Vologeses refus'd to admit him, but sent the General of his Horse, *Vasaces*. *Patru* urg'd to him the Exploits of Lucullus, and Pompey, who by Authority of the Emperours had possess'd, or given away Armenia. *Vasaces* reply'd, The Image of Royalty had been in the Hands of the Romans, but the real Power, lodg'd in the Parthians. After great Contests on both sides, it was resolv'd to remit the Conclusion, till the next Day; and that *Monobazus*, Prince of the *Adiabeni*, should be present as a Witness to what should then be agreed on. It was concluded, That Armenia should be evacuated, and all Garrisons and Forts be put in the Enemies Hands. That our Legions might retire whether they pleas'd, and Vologeses send an Embassy to the Emperour.

15. While these things were in Agitation, *Patru* flung a Bridge over the River *Arsania*, which ran under our

our Camp, as if he intended to pass over; but this was done by order of the Parthians, as a Mark of their Victory, it being commodious to them; and not in any manner to molest us. A Rumour was dispers'd, that our Legions had pass'd *sub jugo*, and suffered many more Indignities: And it is certain the Armenians entred our Camp, before they broke up, seiz'd the Avenues, and stop'd on the Road all the Horses, or Slaves which we had before taken from them. They stript our Men, took away their Arms, they not daring to murmur, fearing to create a new Quarrel. Vologeses having made a sort of Trophy of the Arms and Trunks of the Slain, as a Monument of our Defeat, withdrew himself from the View of our Legions, to discover his Modesty, after he had glutted his Ambition, and pass'd the River *Arsania* on an Elephant, with his Nobility on Horseback; which was caused by a Rumour, that the Romans had not made the Bridge firm enough; and that it might break upon the first Tryal: But those who went over experienced the contrary.

16. This dishonourable Treaty was not forced from a want of Provisions, of which our Soldiers burnt great quantity upon their leaving the place, whereas the Enemy wanted both Men and Forrage, and were upon the point of drawing off, as *Corbulo* declared after, who was not then above three Days March. He assures us, Vologeses had oblig'd *Patru* to swear on the Eagles, and the Roman Standards, in the presence of the Parthians, That our Troops should not enter Armenia, till Answer should return from the Emperour, whether he consented to the Articles. This is added to aggravate and render this more scandalous; but most certain it is, *Patru* in one Day retir'd above forty Miles, abandoning the disabled Men every-where; an Act not less infamous, than if he had turned his back in Battle. *Corbulo* march'd out to meet him with his Army, in a melancholy Equipage, to avoid reproaching him with the miserable Condition

in which he found him. The Soldiers were deeply affected with the Disgrace of their old Companions, and shed so many Tears, they could not mutually Salute each other; the present Calamity had stifled all Sense of Honour and Glory, and only Compassion remained for their Misfortunes.

17. The Conference of the Generals was very short, one complaining, That *his Labour has been Fruitless*: The other replying, That *with a little Patience, we might Recover and make a Change in the Fortunes of the Barbarians*. That *things were yet well enough*. That both Armies ought to Unite, and enter Armenia, very much weakened by the Enemies departure. Corbulo replied, He had no order from the Emperour: That he had abandoned his Province to save the Roman Legions from Destruction: That he did not know what the Parthians might attempt. That he must return with Diligence, and must have the good Fortune to be time enough with an Infantry, tired and harassed against Hosts which had only a plain Country to pass, and eager upon Victory. Patus took up his Winter-quarters in Cappadocia. Vologeses sent to intreat Corbulo, to Rase the Forts which he cast up on Euphrates, and leave the River open, as the just Bounds of the two Empires. The other demanded the Parthians should quit Armenia, which for some time they refus'd, but at last consented to, and Corbulo gave them Satisfaction on his part.

18. In the mean time Trophies were erected at Rome, and Triumphal Arches in the midst of the Capitol Hill; all which had been decreed by the Senate, before the War was finished, without considering the State of Affairs, with more regard to Pomp and Show than Honour and Conscience. Nero himself, to shew his small Concern for foreign Affairs, caused a great deal of Corn to be flung into the Tyber, it being corrupted and spoiled. Notwithstanding this, Corn did not grow dearer, although the Tempest had Wreckt two hundred Vessels in the Port, and a casual Fire destroyed

stroyed an hundred more, brought into the Mouth of the River. After this, he made three Consular Men, *Ducius Piso, Duccimius Geminus, and Pompeius Paulinus*, Intendants of the Taxes; reproaching the former Emperours with anticipating their Revenues, by their expensive Living, pretending, that he gave every Year Fifteen Hundred Thousand Crowns of his Revenue, to the Commonwealth.]

19. An ill Custom prevailed, and divers who had no Children of their own, made false Adoptions, when the Time approached of chusing Magistrates, or drawing Lots for the Provinces; and when they had obtained the Places, they discharged those whom they had adopted. Those who were aggrieved, made their Complaints, alledging, *The Right of Nature, the Trouble and Expence of Educating Children*, against these short and fraudulent Adoptions; representing, That *such Persons, who had no Children of their own, enjoyed Advantages enough, in being freed from Trouble and Charge*: That they *permitted their Children to quit them at their Fancy, in Contempt of those Laws; while they had a great many Priviledges for Ease, or Sorrow, the other with Ease enjoyed the same*. Upon which it was enacted by the Senate, That these fraudulent Adoptions, should not be regarded, as Qualifications for Places or Successions.

20. After this, *Timarcus* of the Isle of Candie was accused of Cruelty and Violence; Crimes too common among the great Men in the Provinces. That which moved the Senate most, was his Pretension to be able to cause Publick Thanks to be given to those who had been Proconsuls, or hinder it at his pleasure. *Thrasea* making use of this Occasion, after having declared his Opinion for Banishment, made a Speech to this purpose, *Gentlemen, Experience teaches us, that ill Actions are ever the Mother of good Laws: Thus we see the Avarice of the Orators, produced the Cincian Law. The Calpurnian Law was made, to restrain Magistrates from Cheating the*

Publick, and the Law of Julius Cæsar, to prevent their Ambition, and forming of Parties: The Punishment does ever infer a preceding Fault; and the Correction follows the Offence: For this Reason, to repress this growing Insolence in the Provinces, let us make a Resolution, worthy of the Roman Grandeur and Generosity, and without Injury done to our Allies, let us prevent them from seeking amongst Strangers their Protection. In ancient Times, we did not only send Prætors and Pro-Consuls into the Provinces, but private Persons, who had the Inspection over the Actions and Behaviour of all Persons, and whole Nations trembled at the Report of a single Man: But now we must make our Court to Strangers, and we are directed by them, what to blame, and what to commend. My Opinion is, They ought to have a liberty accusing their Governours; by this means they will be in a Capacity to preserve themselves from Oppression; but it behoves us to reject these false Commendations, as we ought to reject Cruelty and Malice. Friendship creates more culpable, than profest Flattery; and a desire to oblige, than endeavouring to do an ill Turn. There are some Virtues odious, as excess of Severity, a Temper inflexible to the Intreaties of Friends. This is the true Reason, why our Governours ordinarily commend themselves better in the beginning of their Employ, than at the end; when they too eagerly court Applause of their Provinces, it too much resembles the Instance we have at Home of the Praetors of our Candidates for Dignities, in gaining the Suffrages of the People. If we reform these Abuses, the People will be better governed; and the Fear of being accused, certainly prevents all Bribery and Injustice; the Abolishing these Praises will be a Bar to Ambition. This Opinion was received with a general Applause: But it ended here; the Consuls declaring the Matter was not then under Debate; but the Emperour being informed hereof, an Order was made, That for the future none presume, in any Meeting of the Allies, to return Thanks to the Senate, to any Prætors, or Pro-Consuls, or send any Deputies for that purpose. In the same Consulat, the Place lately appointed by Nero,

for

for the Grecian Exercises, was destroyed by Lightning, and his Statue melted down to a rude Lump. The famous City of Poppæa was ruined by an Earthquake; and Cornelia, of the Family of the Cossi, was made a Vestal Nun, in the place of Lælia, deceased.

21. In the Consulat of Memmius, and Verginius Rufus, Poppæa was delivered of a Daughter; which Nero received with the greatest Transports of Joy imaginable, and conferred on the Infant, the Title of *Augusta*, (or Empress,) as well as her Mother: She was born at Antium, the place of his own Birth. The Senate had recommended the Child to the Gods, whilst it was yet unborn, and made Vows for its Prosperity. To which they now added, the Honour of Publick Processions, dedicating a Temple to Fecundity, with Combats after the Athenian manner, and erected Statues to Fortune in the Throne of Jupiter Capitolinus. After this Play were instituted in the Circus at Antium, to the Honour of the Domitian and Claudian Families, as there had been at Bovillæ to that of Julius Cæsar. But all this soon vanished into Air, and the Infant died four Months after; which obliged them to have recourse to second Flattery, and a Temple was decreed with Divine Honours, and every thing suitable. Nero did not demonstrate less Sorrow at her Death, than he had done before Joy at her Birth: And it may deserve our Notice, That after the Delivery of Poppæa, the Senate going in a Body to Antium to felicitate the Emperour, Thrasea was refus'd Admittance into the Presence, to pay his Duty with the rest; which he received as a Presage of his Death, without any visible Concern. Some little time after, Nero told Seneca, he was reconciled to Thrasea; upon which Seneca returned him Thanks, which afforded new matter for Glory and Danger to these great Men.

22. In the beginning of the Spring-time, Volagèses sent his Embassadors to Rome, to represent, That



the Dispute at present was not as heretofore, who should possess the Crown of Armenia; since the Gods, who are Arbiters of the World, and dispose of Empires at their pleasure, had bestowed that on the Parthians; not without some Dishonour to the Roman Arms. That he had spared a first Tigranes, whom he had kept besieged, and after that Pætus, with two of our Legions, to give as good Proofs of his Clemency, as he had before of his Valour. That Tiridates would not refuse to come to Rome to receive the Crown there, if he was not detained by his Priesthood, but that he would go in Person, to render this Honour to the Image of the Emperour, and the Roman Eagles; and begin his Reign in the presence of our Legions.

23. The Letters from Pætus not agreeing with this kind of Discourse, he having given an Account that all was entire as before, the Centurion who attended the Embassadours, was askt how matters stood? He replied, The Romans were driven out of Armenia. The insolence of this Barbarous People, who came now to demand as a Right, what they had seized by Force, obliged Néro to assemble the principal Men of Rome, to take their Advice in this Matter: all of 'em concluded a dubious War ought to be preferred to such a scandalous Peace; and it was resolv'd to put the Conduct of it into the Hands of Corbulo, who had a long Experience of our Army, and the Enemy. The Ambassadours were presented, and sent back, flattering them with hopes that if Tiridates should come in Person, to ask the Crown of Armenia, He should obtain his Request. In the mean time, the Administration of Syria was given to Cincius, and the Command of the War to Corbulo, with the Fifteenth Legion, remanded from Pannonia, under the Command of Marinus Celsus. Next they sent Dispatches to the Kings and Governours, of Provinces, with Instructions to obey him in all matters, almost equalling his Power with that of Pompey, in the War with

the Pirates. Pætus returning home full of apprehension of suffering under the Emperour's Frowns, Ne- contented himself to punish him with Railery, telling him He pardoned him upon the spot, for fear he being so subject to be scared, should fall ill if he defer'd it any time.

24. Corbulo, having remitted into Syria, the Fourth and Twelfth Legion, who had lost their best Soldiers, and were not yet recovered from the Blow which had stunned them, takes with him the Third and the Sixth, whose Valour he had proved, and carried them into Armenia; with the Fifth, left in the Kingdom of Pontus, which had not shared in the Defeat, and the Fifteenth lately remanded from Pannonia. He joyned to these Troops the Flower of the Companies out of Egypt and Judaea, and the Auxiliary Force of the neighbouring Kings. The Rendezvous was appointed at Melitene, where he intended to pass Euphrates with his Army. After he had made a General Review with usual Sacrifices, he made an Harangue to his Soldiers, extolling his exploits, and the Fortune of that Prince, under whose auspicious Banner he fought, not mentioning the late Misfortunes, which he imputed to a want of Experience in Pætus; all which he accompanied with the Resolution of a Gallant Man, which immediately supplied the place of Eloquence.

25. After this he marched by Lucullus's Way, after he had opened and cleared the Passages, and civilly received the Embassadours of Tiridates and Vologeses, who came to propose an Accomodation. He sent back with them several Officers of his Army, to represent to them, That Things were not come to that height, that their Difference must of necessity be decided by Battle. That the Armenians had been fortunate in War as well as the Romans, which ought to be a Lesson to both Parties not to be too much elated with their Success: That it was not the Interest of Tiridates, to make Devastation of a Country which

which he hoped to enjoy; and of Vologeses to preserve the Friendship of the Emperour, which might be of greater advantage to him than his Enemy: That he was not insensible of the intestine Wars, with which his Dominions were miserably Harassed, and the fierce obstinate Temper of his People: That he ought to reflect the Romans had only this War on their Hands, and peaceably possess the rest of the World. He soon seconded his Words with Actions, forcing divers of the Great Men who had revolted first to quit *Armenia*, making Incursions on their Territories, taking their Forts and filling all places with Dread and Fear.

26. *Corbulo*, not being hated by these barbarous People, but on the contrary generally esteemed for his Virtue, they took his Advice in good part, and *Vologeses* answer'd mildly, in the Affair of a General Peace, demanding Truce for some Governments, and *Tiridates* with Time and Place for an Interview. The Persians, who design'd the Place where *Partus* had been beheaded with his Legions, as a Testimony of the Advantage which they had gain'd; besides, the Place was not far distant. *Corbulo* did not pretend to admit it, by reason of the different posture of Affairs, which tended to augment his Glory. However, to demonstrate he had no Intention to preserve the Memory of *Partus*'s Disgrace, he gave his Son, who was Tribune of a Cohort, the Command of some Troops, who were to enter the Bodies of those killed in the Defeat. Upon the Day appointed, *Tiberius Alexander*, an illustrious Roman Knight, chosen Minister for the Emperour, in this War, and *Annus Varianus*, Son-in-law of *Corbulo*, who had not yet attained the Age of Senatur, then Commander of the Fifth Legion, came to the Camp of *Tiridates*, in an honourable manner, to remain his Pledge and Assurance, for the Observation of all Agreements.

27. *Corbulo* and the Prince were each at the Rendezvous, with twenty Horse apiece: The King dismount-

ed first, and *Corbulo* instantly after, who, when they had mutually embraced each other, commending him for having prefer'd Moderation, which was the most proper to obtain his End: The other after he had extolled his high Descent, added, with modesty, That he would go to Rome, and prostrate at the Feet of the Emperour, one of the *Aracidæ* crown'd with Victory. They agreed that he should lay down his Crown at the Feet of the Emperour's Effigies, and not resume it till he received it at Rome from his own Hands. This Interview ended with new Embraces, and some Days after the Armies appeared in sight of each other, with a great deal of Pomp and Magnificence: On one side was the *Parthian* Cavalry in Squadrons, under their Cornets; and on the other, the Roman Legions, with their Eagles and their Ensigns disposed round in Form of a Temple, with the Portrait of the Emperour glittering in them: In the midst was that of the present Prince, in a *Sella-Curulis*, placed on a Tribunal. *Tiridates*, approaching after the usual Offices offered, took off his Diadem, and placed it at the Feet of the Statue, in the presence of both Armies, which were filled with Admiration, and Astonishment: which was heightned by comparing their past Disgrace with their present Glory, and they were now ravish'd to see the Victor humbled in a Posture as if he should be carried Captive to Rome in Triumph.

28. *Corbulo*, to conclude this Ceremony, made a splendid Entertainment for *Tiridates*; and after many Caresses, answer'd all the Questions he made him, who began to enquire, Why the Centurion came to acquaint him, when the Vanguard was set? Why, the Trumpets sounded when Dinner was over? Why they came with a Flambeau in their Hands, to set fire to the Augural Pile? He gave very pompous Reasons for all these matters, which ravish'd the young Prince with Admiration of these ancient Customs. The next Morning *Tiridates* demanded time to take Leave of his Mother and Brothers, before he

he undertook so long a Voyage, and left his Daughter as a Pledge, with some Letters full of Respect addressed to the Emperour.

29. He found *Pacorus* in *Media*, and *Vologeses* at *Ecbatana*, impatient to know what had passed: He had sent expressly to *Corbulo*, to desire that *Tiridates* might not wear any Badge of Slavery; That his Sword should not be taken from him; That he might be admitted to visit the Governours of the Provinces, without being suffered to wait at their Gates. In short, that the same Honours should be done him as if he were Consul. This barbarous Prince used to the manner of treating Captives, and Slaves in War, did not know that the Romans content with Empire, despise all the rest as a vain Affectation.

30. This Year the Emperour gave the Rights of *Latin* to the People inhabiting the Maritime Parts of the *Alps*, and separated the Roman Knights from the People in the Cirque, appointing Seats for that Order near the Senatours. Before this time they sat promiscuously at the Spectacle, the *Roscian* Law having only regulated the Seats in the Theatre. This Year were several Combats of Gladiatours given, equally magnificent with the former; and divers Senatours and other men of quality appeared in the *Area*.

31. In the Consulat of *Caesar* *Lecanius*, and *Marcus* *Lucinius*, *Nero* was impatient to appear on the Public Theatre. Till this time he had confined himself to sing in his own Palace, and Gardens, in those Meetings of the Youth of the Court, which he now began to think not August enough for a Voice so celebrated as his was. He had not Assurance enough to attempt this at *Rome*, but chose the City of *Naples*, as most proper for his Design, this being a *Greek* City. He proposed to go from thence into *Greece*, and after having obtained the most famous Laurels, to return Triumphant, and present himself to the Roman People. Upon the Rumour of this, the Theatre at *Naples* was instantly filled with a

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infinite multitude of People, who flocked in from the Neighbouring Parts, besides the Troops of Guards, and the Retinue of the Court.

32. There hapned an Accident at the end of this Spectacle, which by some was esteemed Ominous; however *Nero* gave a very different Constrution of it; all the Croud being gone, the Theater fell down without hurting any Person: The Emperour returned Thanks to the Gods, celebrating this his good Fortune, with what preserved him, and set forward for *Brundisium*, making a Halt at *Beneventum*, to see a Combat of Gladiators, which *Varinius* gave there for his Entertainment. This *Varinius* was one of the most infamous Monsters of that Court, one who from a Cobler's Boy in a Stall, with the greatest Deformity of Body and Mind was exalted to be one of the greatest Men in *Rome*. His first Rise was by serving to divert the Court with his mean Galleries; and after by Calumniating Men of Honour and Worth, he had exalted himself to such a Degree of Wealth and Power as to surpass all his Fellows.

33. In the midst of these Sports, *Nero* did not forget his usual Cruelty; and put to death *Torquatus* *Silla* for no other Reason, but because he was well Deceived, and had the Honour to have *Augustus* for his Grandfather. The Informers were ordered to object, The vast Sums of Money he had given, and his excessive Expences, which had reduced him to such a Necessity, that he could not repair the Breaches of his Fortune, but by raising a Civil War. They added farther, That he had several Sons of Rank without the allowed Sallaries, with the Title of his *Supremacy*, *Hereditary*, and such like Officers. His principal Domestic were seized and imprison'd, and as they were upon the Point of condemning him, he cut his Veins. The Emperour declared after his usual manner. His Intention was to have pardon'd him, if they had found him Culpable, if he had not thus anticipated his Mercy by his Despair.

34. Some time after the Emperour returned to *Rome*, omit-

omitting his Voyage to *Greece*, the cause of which is not very well known. There was a Report he intended for the *Levant*; and had secret Designs on *Egypt*. In his publick Declaration he assured them, his Absence should not be long, and that he would not make any Alteration in the State. After this, he went up to the Capitol, to consult the Gods concerning his Voyage, and returning thence to the Temple of *Vesta*, found himself seized with a Horrour and Trembling of his Joynts; either pursued by Divine Vengeance, or reproached by the Conscience of his Crimes, he quitted his Design, excusing himself by the great Love he bore to his Country, in whose Welfare he placed his highest Satisfaction. He could not but observe the general Sadness at his Departure. That he overheard them in all places, murmuring at his leaving them for so long a Time, who could with so much difficulty sustain an Absence but of a few Days, his Presence being a Refuge, against all accidents of Fortune. That as Men still the greatest Tenderness for their nearest Relations, he found himself more concerned for Rome than the Province, and could not deny complying with their Desire. The People were very glad at this Change, fearing they should lose their usual Diversion; but most of all apprehending a Dearth in his Absence. The great Men were doubtful whether more was to be fear'd from afar, than nigh at hand; and as commonly happens in all great Apprehensions, they found the worst fall out.

Nero, to demonstrate he never was more easie than at Rome, made Feasts in all the Publick Places, using the whole City as his private House. The most remarkable of these, was that which *Agrippina* prepared for him, the Particulars of which, I shall relate here, to excuse my self from recounting any more of the like Prodigalities in any other place: This Entertainment was made in the Lake of *Avippa*, in a Ship all glittering with Gold and Ivory; drawn by other Vessels, not inferiour in their glorious Ornaments, to their Leader,

all

manned with some decayed, withered, worn down with Age or Debauchery. To furnish this extravagant Banquet, they had ravaged all Foreign Countries, of what they afforded exquisite and rare. All sorts of Venison, and Wild-fowl, and whatever Fish the River or Ocean afforded: Under Tents on the side of the Pool, were several Women of Quality, and on the other side Strumpets naked, with all manner of lewd Actions, and immodest Postures: Upon the approach of Night, all the Groves and neighbouring Palaces resounded with Consorts of Musick; and were hung with variety of Illuminations. The Emperour after surfeited with all manner of Pleasures, as well lawless as forbidden, could not find a new Debauch, till to fill up the height of Infamy, he caused himself to be married in Person of a Woman, to an old Buggerer of the name, call'd *Pythagoras*. The Marriage was performed with the usual Ceremonies, and the Mony deposited in the *Augur's* hands: He had the Veil put on which the *Virgins* commonly wear, and a Nuptial-bed prepared. The *Hymeneal* Flambeau lighted, and suffered that to be done to him in the View of the World, which is commonly cover'd with Darkness in the Female-pleasures.

36. This Debauch was soon followed, by the Burning of Rome; which was the greatest and most dreadful fire that ever hapned. It is doubted whether he was the Author or not; Historians do not agree upon this Matter. It began in that part of the Cirque which touches on Mount *Celins*, and Mount *Palatin*; and seizing on some Shops filled with combustible Matter, by help of the Wind it rose to that Violence, to consume the whole length of the Cirque in an instant. There was no Temple or Palace which stood in the way, able to put a stop to this Conflagration. From hence it extended itself farther; and gaining the Hill, spread quite over it, preventing all Remedies by its quickness. The strait winding Streets of the old City contributed

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very much, to make a speedy way for the Flames: The Shrieks and Cries of the Women and Children, some of which saw their own Goods consumed in the Flames, others running to and fro to save their Neighbours or their own, filled every place with Hurry and Distraction; some ran forwards, others backwards; and while their care was not to be set on behind, they are attack'd before, or on one side: If they made to Neighbouring Houses, the Fire was got before, or soon follow'd them; and many at last destitute of Hope, and not knowing what to do, betook themselves into the Fields or Streets, lying on the cold Ground, or flinging themselves into the Fire, not to survive their Families or Fortune. That which increased the Violence of the Fire, was that no Body dared to extinguish it; nay, several were discovered helping to promote it, either by the Emperour's Command, or to favour their Robberies.

37. Nero was at *Antium*, from whence he did not return till the Fire was advanced near his Palace, at the Point where the Gardens of *Mecænas* and the Emperour's Gardens joyn'd the old House; but he could not prevent the Palace being burnt, with all the adjacent Buildings. The People had *Mars's* Field, and the Monuments of *Agrippa*, allotted for their Reception, and small Huts were erected with expedition, to lodge the Multitude; and by his Command all sorts of necessary Movables were brought from the Neighbouring Towns, and the Price of Corn lowered to five Pence. But all this did not Retrieve the Emperour's Reputation, a Rumour being dispersed, that during the height of the Fire, he sung the Burning of *Troy*; comparing the present, with that ancient Calamity.

38. At last upon the sixth Day, the Fire stopt at the bottom of the *Esquilian* Hill, not finding more Matter to supply it; all the Buildings thereabouts being pulled down to put a stop to its Fury. It was hardly

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extinguished by that time, it broke out afresh in the *Emilian* Quarter in *Tigellinus's* House, which redounded much to the Emperour's Infamy, and the Indignation of the People. It was not very great at first, seizing only on spacious Places; but after it ravaged Temples, and *Portico's*, built for Pleasure and Ornament, and every Thing seemed as if *Nero* had conceived a Design to build a new City, and call it by his own Name: for of fourteen Quarters in *Rome*, three were entirely burnt; of seven others only a few scattered Buildings remained, very much damaged by the Fire.

39. It would be a difficult Task to recount all those Palaces and Temples which perished, but the most Famous for their Antiquity, were that of *Luna*, dedicated by *Servius Tullius*, another with the great Altar erected by *Evander* to *Hercules*, when he passed through his Country; the Temple of *Jupiter Stator* built by *Romulus*, that of *Vesta*, with the Palace of *Numa*, and the *Penates* of the *Roman* People. Besides, the Fruit of so many Victories, and the Monuments of the greatest Masters of *Greece*, with all those Master-pieces of Art which our ancient Men remember and cannot Parallel in new *Rome*, however magnificent it may be. Some have observ'd that it hapned the same Day, (which was the Nineteenth of *July*,) that *Rome* was burned by the *Gauls*; others more curious, pretend to find a Proportion of Months, Days, and Years, between one and the other Accident.

40. *Nero* made use of the General Ruin of his Country, to make Ostentation of his Magnificence, and built a Palace on the Ashes: This was not so glorious for its Gilding and costly Ornaments, which the Luxury of the Age had made common, as its Lakes, Fields, Forests, Campaigns representing Deserts and Solitudes, all by the Invention of *Serenus* and *Celer*, who were the Directors and Architects, whose luxuriant Fancies indulged themselves, with attempting what Nature had denied, making Sport with the Power of

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an Emperour. These Men had projected to make a Canal, from the Lake *Avernus* to the Mouth of the *Tiber*, through the Mountains to the Sea-shore, notwithstanding there is no Water in that place, except the *Pomptinian* Marsh, the rest being only Rocks and barren Sands, in which it is not possible to make any such Work, which if it could be effected, would never recompence such infinite Trouble and Expence. But *Nero*, ambitious of great Designs, and things incredible, began to pierce the Hills nearest to *Avernus*, where the Marks of this vain Enterprize still remain.

41. The rest of the City were employed in rebuilding their Houses. Here, without preserving the ancient Order, or leaving private Men to Build after their own Fancy, as they had done after the Burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, he set out the great Streets, enlarged the Publick Places, encompassed the Quarters with Portico's, which he promised to finish at his own Expence; and to clear the Rubbish, and leave the Place free to the Proprietors. He forbid Houses to be built beyond a certain Height, promising Rewards to such who should Build according to their Estates and Quality, and prescribing a certain time by which they might obtain them, which if they suffered to lapse, they were not admitted to make any Pretensions: The *Ostian* Moor was appointed to receive the Rubbish, and the Ships which came into the *Tiber*, loaden with Corn, were order'd to carry it away. An Order was likewise made, That all Buildings should be vaulted at a certain height, with *Alban* and *Gabian* Stone, which resists Fire: Next, to restrain Private Persons from drawing the Publick Water for their use, and to oblige them to have Cisterns or Reservatories ready in case of Fire, Persons were appointed to have Inspection, and all Houses to be separated without a middle Wall. This Regulation, besides its other uses, made this new City extremely beautiful: Some pretend the old City was  
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more healthy, because the narrow Streets and high Houses abated the heat of the Sun, which met with no Obstacle here.

42. All means were used which Human Prudence cou'd direct for settling this Affair, and the Books of the *Sibylls* were consulted to appease the incensed Gods; and Processions, and publick Prayers were made to *Vulcan*, *Ceres*, and *Proserpine*. The Ladies themselves, to propitiate *Juno*, made Sacrifices at the Capitol, and after on the Banks of the Sea, with its Water sprinkling her Statue and Temple. The married Women celebrated Solemn Vigils to the Honour of the Gods, and erected Tables and Banquets; But all these Gifts, Largesses, Ceremonies, and Sacrifices, were not able to Save the Reputation of the Emperour, or remove the Suspicion of his being the Author of this Tragedy; wherefore, to divert the Suspicion from himself, and charge this Crime on others, he caused great numbers of Christians to be put to Death, as Incendiaries. These were an infamous Race of Men, which derived the Name of Christians from *Christ*, the Author of the Party, who suffered Death in the Reign of *Tiberius* by order of *Pontius Pilate* Governour of *Judea*. This pernicious Sect, after it had been for some Time repress'd, sprung up, not only in the place of its first Rise, but in *Rome* itself, which is the Rendezvous and the Sink of all the Filth in the World. Several, who made Profession of this new Religion, were seized, who, by their Confession, discovered infinite numbers of others, who were convicted, not so much of this particular Fact, as being Enemies of Mankind. They insulted them at their Death, covering 'em with the Skins of Wild Beasts, and exposing them to be devoured by Dogs; or fastening them to a Cross, and setting fire to them to serve for Illuminations by Night. *Nero* set apart his Gardens for this Spectacle, joyning to them the Diversions of the Cirque, appeared publickly in the Habit of a Drover, sitting in his Chariot. How-

ever these Wretches were Culpable, and merited Capital Punishment; yet the People had Compassion on them, because the Emperour did not Punish so much for the Publick Good, as to satisfy his cruel Disposition.

43. To furnish his prodigal expensive Humour, he was next forced to plunder *Italy*, and the Provinces, as well as the Allies, and Free-towns. And here he did not abstain from Things sacred, as robbing the Temple of their Fruits, and Vows, all which had been consecrated as Monuments of the Prosperity or Adversity of the *Roman* People: and not contenting himself with taking the Gold of *Greece*, he carried away the Gods themselves, by the assistance of two infamous Rascals, which he sent thither, *Acratus* and *Secundus Carinas*; the one, a Freed-man, who made no scruple of any ill Thing; the other indeed had some Tincture of good Learning, but a Mind void of all Principles of Honesty. There was a Report *Seneca* was jealous lest these Sacrileges might be imputed to him, and begg'd leave to retire into the Country, upon the refusal of which he confined himself close Prisoner in his House, pretending to be indisposed by the Gout: Some write that a Domestick of his, named *Cleonice*, corrupted by the Emperour, had prepared Poyson for him, but the Plot did not take Effect, either by the timorous Humour of the Servant, or the Diffidence of *Seneca*, who lived upon the Fruits of the Country, and drank Water only.

44. About this time the Gladiatours in the City of *Pheneste*, made an Attempt to escape, but were arrested by the Soldiers who guarded them: The People were all alarmed, representing nothing less to themselves than the *Spartan* Tumult, and the ancient Calamities, so fearful is the Multitude, notwithstanding the Love of Change is so natural to them: Some time after News arrived of the loss of the Naval-force, which did not happen in any Fight, it being now a time of profound

Peace,

Peace, but in a Storm, as they return'd in haste from *Torres*, by Orders from the Emperour, to the Coast of *Naples*; it being forced on the Bank of *Cumæa*, by the violence of a South-west-wind, as they intended to double the Cape of *Misene*, which made 'em to separate in the Storm, where they lost most of their lesser Vessels, and a great number of the Gallies.

45. Near the end of this Year a great many Prodigies hapned, which were so many Presages of the ensuing Calamities: Never greater or more terrible Thunders and Lightnings: A Comet appeared, whose Malignant Influence *Nero* diverted from himself to some illustrious Person: Infants and other Animals born with two Heads, which were carried about and expos'd to Publick View; among the rest, a Cow had a Calf near the High-road, in the Territory of *Placentia*, which had a Head growing out of the Leg: The Augurs being consulted, gave their Opinion, That a new Head of the Empire should arise, but weak, and soon discovered; which Conjecture they drew from the *Fœtus* being in-posed in the Womb, and cast near the Road.

46. In the Consulat of *Silius Nerva*, and *Atticus Vestinus*, a great Conspiracy was formed against the Emperour, by a great number of Persons of all Ranks and Qualities, who came in Crouds; Captains, Senatours, Knights, even Ladies, engaged by their Hatred to the Emperour, and their Love to *Piso*, at the Head of this Enterprize. He was of the *Calpurnian* House, allied by the Father's side to the best Families of *Rome*, celebrated for his Virtues real or apparent; he employed his Eloquence in defending his Fellow-citizens, and his Estate in the Service of his Friends, he was easie of Access, even to the meanest Persons, and caressed all Mankind. Besides these good Qualities, he was a Man of a proper Stature, becoming Mein, possessor of a plentiful Fortune, but far from the Gravity of our Ancestours; he was addicted to Luxury and Expence, which

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rendred him more agreeable in a voluptuous Age, averre to all Reserve.

47. It is not well known who projected this Conspiracy, but it is certain he was not the Author of it. *Subrius Flavius*, Commander of a *Prætorian Cohort*, and the Centurion *Asper*, gave Proofs by the Resolution they shewed in their Death, that they were the leading Men in this Plot: *Plautius Lateranus* and *Lucan* were very zealous in the Business; one disgusted that the Emperour oppos'd the Reputation of his Verses, and denied him the Liberty of Publishing them, being jealous of a Competitor in the Glory; the other in pure Zeal, for the Service of his Country; having no reason of Complaint, himself being design'd Consul for the Year following. *Flavius Scevinnus* and *Asnanius Quintilianus*, both Senators, undertook the Execution of the great Design, to the Surprize of the World, who in Men of such effeminate Lives did never expect to find so brave a Resolution: The one languishing in Sloth and Ease, his Soul enervated; and the other exposed *Nero* in a Satyr, for his Prostitutions; which cruel front made him eager of Revenge.

48. As they were railing among themselves, and their Confidants, at the Vices of the Emperour, which seemed to Presage the Ruin of the Empire, if they did not speedily find another to support a Tottering State, they gained over *Tullius Senecio*, *Cervarius Proculus*, *Vulcatius Araricus*, *Julius Tugurinus*, *Munatius Plautus*, *Antonius Natalis*, *Martius Festus*, all Roman Knights, most of whom engaged in this Enterprize, in hopes of advancing their Fortunes; only *Natalis* and *Senecio* were act'd by nobler Motives, one by the Amity and Confidence of *Piso*, and the other, for some unknown Reason, which must of Necessity have been honourable, for in all appearance he stood fair with the Emperour, had always his good Graces, which rendred him more culpable, and ought to have made him apprehend

prehend a more severe Punishment: Besides the Officers of the Guards, which I mentioned before, there were two Tribunes, *Granius Sylvanus*, and *Statius Proculus*, and two Centurions, *Maximus Scurius* and *Paulus Venetus*: But all the Hopes of the Conspirators were placed in the Person of *Fenius Rufus*, Colonel of the *Prætorian Bands*, a Man of a Life and Reputation unblemish'd, whom *Tigellinus* his Colleague, dearer to the Emperour, for the Lewdness and Cruelty of his Humour, still Calumniated and Persecuted, endeavouring to render him suspected for his Friendship to *Agrippina*, and accusing them of Mourning for her hard Fate, and being her Stallion. When the Company was assured by — of *Fenius Rufus*, that he was a Party in this Design, they began now to debate more freely of the Time and Place of Execution: They pretend *Subrius Flavius* propos'd killing *Nero*, when he was publicly Singing on the Theater: At another time to do it at the time of the Fire, when he expos'd himself in all places without Guards; urging, on one hand, the Opportunity, while he was alone; on the other, so illustrious a Company to be the Spectators of the Heroic Exploit. But the Fear of Death, and the Hopes of Impunity, the eternal Obstacles to all great Designs, put a stop to these Measures.

49. Whilst they were thus balancing between Hope and Fear, one *Epicharis*, a Woman who was of the Conspiracy, or rather had got some notice of it; (for, in her preceding Life, she had not given any Marks of Love to Honour,) begins to solícite them to finish their Design; and wearied out with their long Delays, endeavour'd to win over the principal Officers of the Fleet which lay in the Road of *Misene*. It happened *Volusius Proculus*, who commanded a Thousand Men in this Service, had been one of the Murtherers of *Agrippina*, and was disgusted, he had not been Rewarded according to what, in his Opinion, he had merited in this Action; and he re-

counting his Discontent to this Woman, and discovering an eager Thirst of Revenge, she thought upon this account he might be drawn into the Party, and by his means, a great part of the Officers of the Fleet, which would be of great Moment to the carrying on of this Design, because *Nero* used that Harbour very much for his Diversion. In order to it, She began to rail at the ill Life of the Emperour, to declaim against his Crimes, to speak of the Resentment of the Senate, who were resolved no longer to support him, but revenge on him the Ruin of the Commonwealth. There was a good Design on foot; and he must resolve speedily, if he designed to be of the Party, and endeavour to win over the principal Soldiers: That he would certainly be rewarded for so glorious an Action. She did not proceed further, and would never reveal the Names of the Conspirators, which rendred the Informations of *Proculus* unserviceable, nor could she ever be convicted. Notwithstanding, the Emperour kept her Prisoner, imagining the Matter might perhaps be true, tho' it was not well proved. In the mean time, the Conspirators fearing to be discover'd, resolved to proceed with all Dispatch.

50. A Proposition was made to kill *Nero* in *Piso's* House, whither he frequently resorted, it being a very pleasant place to pass away his time in Bathing and Debauches, without any Sentinel, or the ordinary Retinue of the Court. *Piso* only opposed this, alledging, It would be more proper to do this, in the midst of *Rome*, in his Palace, founded on the Blood and Tears of the Citizens, than in the House of any private Person, against all Priviledge and Hospitality: adding, That an Action done for the Good of the Commonwealth, ought to be done in Sight of the World. But the true Reason was, he was afraid in the mean time lest *Lucius Silanus* might be elected at *Rome*, a Man of an illustrious Birth, and bred under *Cassius*; and doubtless all Men, except the Conspirators, would have been for

for him, as well upon account of his Noble Extraction and Eminent Virtue, as because the Action of *Piso* would not be generally approved. A great many think *Piso* apprehended the violent Temper of the Consul *Vestinus*, fearing he would declare for Liberty, or settle some one in the Empire, who should stand obliged to him for the Gift: For he was wholly ignorant of the Design, tho' *Nero*, having for a long time hated him, took this Pretext to rid himself of him.

51. After several Debates, it was resolved the Execution should be in the Time of the Sports of the Cirque, upon the Day which is dedicated to *Ceres*. This was pitcht upon, because *Nero*, who at other Times, was shut up in his Palace or Gardens, appeared openly, and it was more easie to approach him in a time of publick Rejoycing. The Order of the Design was laid in this manner: *Lateranus* was to cast himself at his Feet, to beg Relief in his Poverty; and as he was a bold daring Man, and had the advantage of a good Stature, to knock him down, and the rest of the Conspirators to run on and kill him in this condition. *Scevinus* had begged the Honour of giving the first Stroak, and taking a Dagger in the Temple of Safety, in *Tuscany*, or as others say, in that of Fortune at *Ferento*; he carried it constantly about him, as the Instrûment designed for this great Work. *Piso* was to wait the Event in the Temple of *Ceres*, where the Commander of the *Prætorian* Bands, followed by the rest of the Conspirators, was to take him, and conduct him to the Camp, in company with *Antonia* the Daughter of *Claudius*, to win the good Will of the People. *Pliny* has recounted this last Particular, which I will not pass by in silence, tho' I do not esteem it probable. For what appearance is there, that *Antonia* would engage her Name and Fortune in so desperate a Cause, without hope of Reward; or that *Piso* would Divorce his Wife, whom he so tenderly loved, to Marry another? Unless it be that Am-

Ambition is the ruling Passion, and the Love of a Crown carries it from all the rest.

52. That which is most surprizing in this whole Affair is, that a Design of this nature could be so long concealed among so great a Number of Persons, of different Age, Sex and Quality. But in the end it was discovered just upon the Point of Execution, which happened in this manner: *Scevinus* having had a long Discourse one Night with *Antonius Natalis*, and returning home to his House made his Will; and drawing out the Dagger which I mentioned, complained it was rusty with Age, and ordered his Servant to whet it against a Flint to sharpen its Point. This Order was given to *Milichus*, one of his Freed-men; and after he had made a Feast more splendid than usual, and given Gratuities to some of his Slaves, and made others Free, appearing Melancholy and Thoughtful, as a Man who had some great Design in his Head, tho' he endeavoured to show a Gayety in several Stories, with which he entertained the Company; Some time after he askt for Fillets to bind up a Wound or stop a Flux of Blood: But when the Freed-man was a Confident of the Secret, or that this created a Suspicion in him, as the greatest part of our Historians relate, and may be imagined by the sequel; when this mean-spirited Man came to balance his Duty and his Fortune, Avarice and Ambition soon prevailed over Honour and Regard to his Patron's Welfare. He was very much byassed in this matter by his Wife, whose Advice is ever weak and ill; She represented the hazardous nature of this matter; That a great number were privy to the Secret; That it would be no Advantage to conceal it, and a great one to publish it; That they would have no Partner in the Reward, but all would share the Punishment.

53. Very early the next Morning he went to attend the Emperour, in the Gardens of *Servilius*; and being refused Admittance, declared he had something of great

great Moment to communicate. *Epaphroditus* a Freed-man of *Nero* was brought to him, who introduced him to the Emperour, to whom he discovered the Danger which threatned him, and the Greatness of the Conspiracy; in short, all he knew or guessed at. He produced the very Dagger intended for the Blow, and desired his Master might be fetcht thither to be confronted with him. Immediately *Scevinus* was seized by the Soldiers and brought before the Emperour, to whom, without any Mark of Fear, he owned the Dagger had been kept in his House for its Antiquity, and stolen out of his Chamber by his Servant: That this was not the first time he had made his Will, without regarding Times, and bestowing his Liberalities on his Servants: That he had been more liberal now than formerly, because he found himself very much press'd by his Censours, and not being very Wealthy, he suspected his Testament might not be executed. As for the Entertainment, he had always loved to fare well, and live a merry life, without standing in Fear of the rigid morose Censours. That for Men, or Preparations to stanch Blood, this was a great Fiction invented by his Servant, to give Colour to his Accusation, since none of the rest were Criminal. He backt all these Reasons with his undaunted Mind, calling at Villanies, and shewing so much Assurance in his Words and Countenance, that if *Milichus's* Wife had not suggested to her Husband, That he had a great deal of Discourse in private with *Antonius Natalis*, and that both were Confidents of *Piso*, the Accusation had fallen for want of Proof.

54. *Scevinus* and *Natalis* being examin'd separate, and interrogated, it appeared, the Account they gave of the Discourse between them did not agree, which occasioned a violent Suspicion; and both being threatned with the Torture, confessed all. *Natalis* first, he having the greatest Knowledge of this matter, and named *Piso* among the Accomplices: After he brought in *Seneca*, either because *Seneca* and *Piso* had made use of his Service

Service, or in Complaisance to the Emperour, who sought out means to take him off: *Scevinus* informed of *Natalis* Deposition, named all the rest, either out of Fear, or thinking it would be to no purpose to conceal them, since *Natalis* had declared all: *Quintianus Senecio* and *Lucan* refused to confess for a long time, but were prevailed upon at last by Hope of Pardon, and as an Excuse of his Silence, the latter accused his Mother *Atilla*, and the two other their principal Friends, *Glicius Gallus*, and *Annius Pollio*.

55. In the mean time *Nero* calling to mind the Relation of *Proculus*, and the Confinement of *Epicharis*, thought a Woman would never have Resolution enough to endure the Torments, and commanded she should be put on the Rack: But neither the Acuteness of the Flames, the Severity of her Executioners, or the Extremity of Pains, which they increased to the highest, could prevail upon her, but were at last Bafled by a Woman, they not being able to alter her Resolution. She maintain'd her Innocence, without accusing any Person; and the next Day, as they were carrying her in a Chair, being unable to stand, she twisted the Linnen which covered her, and made a Halter, which she fastned to the Chair, and strangled herself. An incomparable Instance of Resolution, in a Freed-woman, to suffer the most cruel Tortures, and Death itself rather than discover Strangers, and Persons scarce known to her, at a Time when Senators and Knights betrayed their principal Friends, even before they were put to the Torture, and ruin'd what they had most dear in the World. The Three, whom I last named, *Quintianus*, *Senecio*, and *Lucan*, incessantly declared new Accomplices, which so very much alarmed the Emperour, he did not think himself secure in the midst of his Guards, tho' he was in a manner Besieged with Soldiers, whom he had planted on the Walls of the City, and all along the Banks of the *Tiber*, quite to the Sea.

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56. He sent Detachments, both of Horse and Foot, to scour private Houses, all publick Places, even the Fields and Neighbouring Towns with his *German* Guard, in whom he confided most, they being Strangers. Criminals were brought in by whole Troops, who waited at the Gates of the Garden till they were admitted to be loaded with new Affronts. It was a Crime at this time to be at an Entertainment with any of the Conspiratours, at any Spectacle, or to have any private Discourse; the very meeting them was Criminal: Not the Emperour and *Tigellinus* only, but *Fenius Rufus* himself, who was not yet discovered, prest them with cross and theatning Interrogations, affecting Severity, to prevent being thought Culpable himself. Some pretend *Subrius Flavius* made him a Sign in this conjuncture, that he would kill *Nero*, and the other stopt him as he had his Hand on the Hilt of his Sword.

57. Some perceiving the Plot was discovered, advised *Piso* to seize the Empire, whilst *Scevinus* was doubtful, and the Freed-man only under Examination, persuading him to go to the Camp, to ascend the *Rostra*, to raise the People, and Senate; They urged, that the other Conspiratours would second him, and that many would be found to joyn in so glorious an Enterprize. That great Designs should be set on foot, and the rest left to Fortune and Fame, who were Mistresses of all Events: That unforeseen Accidents daunted the most Courageous Men: That this must of necessity work more strongly on a Buffoon, a Comedian, who would never have the Courage to take up Arms in the Company of *Tigellinus*, and his Mistresses: That a great many things were found easie in the Execution, which seemed impossible in the Beginning: That it was Vanity to hope for Secrecy and Fidelity, amidst such a Number as were concerned in this Matter, weak both in Body and Mind: That nothing could withstand Rewards and Punishments: That if he deferred longer, they would seize him, and put him to a cruel Death: That he would fall in a glorious Cause, engaging

*beginning in the Defence of the Commonwealth, and encouraging the Senate and People to attempt to rescue their Liberties, and to abandon them at this Juncture: That Posterity would not approve so mean an Action, unworthy of him or his Ancestors.* He remained unmoved with these Discourses, and appearing for some time in publick, confined himself to his House, making Preparations for his Death. In the mean time the Soldiers, sent by the Emperour, arrived, all chosen out of the Youth, the Emperour being diffident of the rest. He caused his Veins to be cut, filling his Testament with Flatteries of Nero, to save his Wife, who did not deserve so well of him, having nothing to recommend her besides her Beauty. Her Name was *Arria Galla*. Her first Husband was *Domitius Silius*, from whose Arms *Piso* had forced her.

§ 8. The next murdered was *Plautius Lateranus*, Consul designed, who had not the liberty allowed him of choosing the manner of his Death, or so much as taking Leave of his Children and Family. He was drawn to the Place where Slaves are ordinarily executed, there killed by the Tribune. *Statius* suffered Death with an admirable Constancy, without reproaching his Master, that he had been his Accomplice. After this, *Seneca* was put to Death, to the great Satisfaction of Nero, who did not so much punish him upon the Account of his being concerned in this Conspiracy, the Crime being not well proved, as being a Man he was resolved to rid himself upon any Terms whatever, since his first Design of Boysoning had miscarried. There appeared nothing against him, beside the Deposition of *Natalis*, the Substance of which was, That *Piso* had sent him to *Seneca* at a time when he was indisposed, to Complain he did not permit him the freedom of Visiting him: That it was for their Interest to improve their Friendship. To which the other replied, Frequent Conversation could avail little, for the rest of his Happiness depended on the Prosperity of *Piso*. *Granius Sylvanus*, Commander of a Prætorian Cohort,

was sent by the Emperour to attest this Deposition. He found him four Miles from Rome, at one of *Villa's*, whither he was returned that Day from the Province of *Campania*, whether informed of what had happened at Court, or upon some other Occasions, is uncertain: He was at Table with his Wife *Pompeia Paulina*, and two of his Friends, when the Tribune entred, having first beset the House with Guards.

§ 9. When he had delivered his Commission, *Seneca* replied, That *Natalis* had made him a Visit on *Piso's* Account, to complain he had not the liberty of Talking with him: That he had excused himself upon pretence of his Indisposition, and his desire of Solitude: That he sees no Reason he should sacrifice his Health to another Man's Interest: That the Emperour very well knew he was not accustomed to Lie or flatter: That he had more Proofs of *Seneca's* Liberty than Complaisance. When the Tribune had reported this to the Emperour, in the Presence of *Poppæa* and *Tigellus*, the Confidents of all his vicious Actions, he asked if *Seneca* prepared himself to Die; and the other replying, He could not discover any Marks of Fear in his Countenance or Words, he was ordered to carry him Command to Die. *Fabius Rusticus* tells us, He did not return the same way, but went directly to *Festus Rufus*, to ask his Advice upon the matter, he being concerned in this Conspiracy; and that *Festus* advised him to Obey; so fatal and universal was their Cowardice. *Silvanus* however had not the Courage to carry the Order himself, but sent it by a Centurion.

§ 10. *Seneca*, without any visible Concern, desired leave to make his Testament, and to dispose of some Legacies; which being refused, he turned himself to his Friends, telling them, That since he had been hindered from giving what they had deserved from him, he left them the Example of his Life, which was the dearest thing he had now remaining upon Earth; the Memory and Imitation of which, would gain to them immortal Honour among all good Men,

as the just Reward of their constant Friendship. And then by grave Discourses he endeavours to stop their Tears sometimes with Mildness, at other times with an Air of Severity; and seeming to condemn their Weakness, he asked them where were all those noble Discourses of Philosophy? that Resolution against all the Accidents of Fortune? That the Cruelties of Nero had nothing strange in them. After he had killed his Mother and Brother, he had nothing now left but to take off his Governour.

61. This was the Prelude to the Tragedy. After this, he embraced his Wife, and having confirmed her on such a surprizing Occasion, He intreated her to moderate her Grief, and not shed Tears for him eternally: That she should reflect on his past Life, and by a Consideration of his Vertues, endeavour to allay the Regret for his Loss. She replied, She was ready to fall with him, and embrace a Death that should come from the same Hand with his. Seneca, not willing to hinder her Glory, and fearing after his Death she might be exposed to the Malice of the World; I have instructed you, says he, how to live, and now I will not envy you the Honour of Dying in so honorable a manner: Let your Resolution be equal; yours death will be the more glorious. After these Words, they cut their Veins both at the same time; but Seneca's Blood flowing out more slowly, by reason of his Age and austere Way of Living, he cut his Arms and Legs: And now finding his Pains violent, and fearing he might abate the Courage of Paulina by his Presence, or that her Suffering might affect him; he advised her to suffer herself to be carried into another Chamber, and in this fatal Juncture, his Eloquence furnishing him still with new matter of Discourse, he had some Persons sent for, to commit to Writing what he dictated, which I shall not repeat here, it being already published in his own Terms.

62. Nero, who had no particular Hatred against Paulina, prevented her Design, to avoid the Odium which

which her Death might occasion. Her Domesticks, by command of the Soldiers, stop'd the Blood, and bound up her Wounds, whether by Force or with her Consent, it's not well known. Now it being more common to believe the worse than the better, there have not wanted those who have ever been ready to impute, that whilst she despair'd of Mercy, she shew'd a readiness to Die, and seem'd ambitious of the Glory of Falling with her Husband; but after flattering herself with a milder Fate, she suffered herself to be easily overcome with the hopes of Life. She lived some years after, bearing on her Body and Countenance, the glorious Marks of her conjugal Affection, publishing to all, who should after see her, by the paleness of her Complexion, the great quantity of Blood which she had lost. In the mean time, Seneca, tired with protracting his Death, intreated Statius Annæus, his old friend and Physician, to give him a Poyson which he kept for a considerable time by him, to be used if occasion should require. This Poyson was the same which is given to the Criminals at Athens: But his veins being exhausted, and his extreme Parts cold, the Poyson had no power to act, and they were constrained to stifle him with the Vapour of a hot Bath. When he entred, he took some of the Water and sprinkled some of his Domesticks with it, saying, That he Offered that Water to Jupiter the Deliverer. His Body was burnt without any Ceremony, according as was found he had ordered in his Testament long time before, he having, in the midst of his Prosperity, still had the Thoughts of Death before his Eyes.

63. There was a Rumour diffused, That Subrius Flavus had privately conspired, with several Officers of the Guards, to espouse Seneca instead of Piso, when they should rid themselves of Nero by means of the latter, and bestow the Empire upon him as the Reward of his Virtues. They assure us he was no Stranger to this



Design, *Flavius* using frequently to say, *He thought it every whit as ignominious to be governed by a Player as a Fidler*. For as *Nero* took delight in playing on Instruments, *Piso* diverted himself with acting Tragedies.

64. At last it was discovered; several Officers of the Guards were in the Conspiracy, the Parties accused, being unable longer to see *Fenius Rufus*, who had been their Accomplice, now become their Examiner. And he pressing *Scevinus* to confess, used Menaces in case he persisted in his Obstinacy. The other replied, smiling, *No Man was better acquainted with this Matter than himself, or more able to discover, to the Emperour, who had conspired his Death, if he pleased to reveal their Names*. This unexpected Reply put *Rufus* into so great Confusion, that he was neither able to speak or be silent; and whilst he endeavoured to answer, all the Conspirators cried out unanimously against him, above all *Cervarius Proculus*. *Nero* instantly commanded *Cassius*, a stout robust Soldier, who was to be ready upon all occasions, to seize him.

65. Next the Conspirators accused *Subrius Flavus*, Captain of a Prætorian Cohort. He endeavoured to excuse himself for some time, upon the nature of his Profession, pretending it was an improbable thing, that a Soldier as he was should mix himself with Men of the Robe, or a Man of Spirit among a parcel of effeminate cowardly Fellows. But finding himself charged home, he chose rather to make a generous Confession, than insist farther in his Defence; and *Nero* demanding the Motives to this Defection from his Duty, contrary to the Oaths of Fidelity: *I*, says he, *have been Faithful to you, and no Man had a greater Love for you; so long as you deserved it; but since you have become Parricide, Buffoon, Coach-driver, Incendiary, I could abhor you*. *I* have related his very Words, because they never have been made publick, as those of *Seneca* were, not doubting the

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Reader will be diverted with seeing the blunt Sense of a Man of the Blade in their native Dress, without Affectation or Study. They pretend this affected *Nero* more than all that happened beside in the Conspiracy, he being used to commit Crimes, but never to hear them reproached. The Execution of the Criminal was committed to *Vejanus Niger*, Captain of a Prætorian Cohort, who had dug a Pit in the adjoining Field, which *Flavius* rallied, as not being deep enough, telling him, *That it was not done according to the Rules of Art*; when he bid him stretch out his Neck, only replying, *I pray God you may as well give the Blow*. *Vejanus* trembling, could not take off the Head till the second Stroke; to excuse which to *Nero*, he said, *He had made him die two Deaths*.

66. *Sulpitius* was the next, who imitated the Resolution of *Flavius*: And when *Nero* demanded the Reason of his being engaged in this Conspiracy against him, briskly replied, *He could not think of any other Remedy to prevent his Crimes*; and was immediately after executed. The other Officers did not shew less Courage in receiving their Death. But *Fenius Rufus* abandoned himself to lamentations and Complaints, unworthy of a Man of Spirit, filling his Testament with such like Expressions. *Nero* still hoped to find the Consul *Vestinus* accused, a Man of a violent Temper, and his mortal Enemy; but he had no share in the Matter, being excluded upon the account of his turbulent unfociable Temper, and some Quarrels which had happened between him and some of the Conspirators. However, the Emperour, who had for a long time Hated him, was resolved to make use of this Opportunity to rid himself of him. The Cause of their Hatred, was the great Familiarity, which made them conscious of each other's Faults. *Vestinus* very well knowing the natural Laziness of the Emperour's Temper; and the Emperour again knowing the audacious Spirit of *Vestinus*,

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who



who had been often nettled with his Galleries, which are always most felt when they carry Truth along with 'em. Besides this, *Nero* had occasion to be incensed against him, for marrying *Statilia Messalina*, a Woman whom he kept; which the other could not be ignorant of.

67. The Emperor wanting Proof, was obliged to have recourse to down-right Force, and sent the Tribune, *Germanicus*, at the head of a Prætorian Cohort, to suppress the ill Designs of the Consul in their Birth, and seize his Citadel and Guards; being pleased to give these Names to his Court, which stood in the publick Forum, and his Tip-staves, who were a parcel of Fellows of a good Mein and equal Age. He had been all the Day busie in his Employment, and at Evening had invited his Friends to Supper; whether having no Suspicion, or to shew a greater Resolution, I cannot determine. In the midst of the Entertainment, the Soldiers come in, demanding him in the Tribune's Name. Upon this he rose, was instantly thrust into a Chamber, a Chirurgion at hand for to cut his Veins, and before his Strength was diminished, he was carried to a hot Bath, in which he instantly expired, without suffering the least Word of escape, which might betray Weakness, or move Compassion. The Company was beset with Guards, and not suffered to depart till late at Night; at which *Nero* laughing, imagining the Apprehensions they were in, said, *This was paying dear for the Honour of Supping with the Consul.*

68. Next he put to Death *Lucan*, cutting his Veins, who finding the extreme Parts grow chill, and remembering he had described a Soldier dying in the same manner, repeated a Fragment, expressing his Agony, and these were his last Words: Afterward *Scevinus*, *Quintianus* and *Senecio* were dispatched, who gave greater Proofs of their Constancy than could be expected from their effeminate way of Living. Soon after the rest of the Conspirators followed, without any remarkable Words or Actions.

69. All the time of these Executions and Murthers, the Temples rang with Thanksgivings, and the Capitol was clouded with the Smoak of the Victims. Here one, after having lost a Son, a Brother, Kinsman, or Friend, was returning Praises to Heaven, and their Houses drest up with Laurel, as in a time of publick Rejoycing. *Nero* received all this as a Mark of general Satisfaction, while some flocked to kiss his Hands, and others embrace his Knees. He pardoned *Natallis* and *Proculus*, for having made a frank Confession before they had been put to the Question, and bestowed a considerable Recompence on the Freed-man, who took the Greek name of *Deliverer*; as a Monument of the good Service he had done. *Granius Sylvanus* killed himself, tho' the Emperour had pardoned him; and *Statius Proculus* did the same, either out of a generous Motive, or vain Glory. Several Officers of the Guards were displaced, upon a Suspicion they were not Well-affectd towards the Emperour, tho' however false or groundless. Of this number were, *Pompeius*, *Cornelius Martialis*, *Flavius Nepos*, *Statius Domitius*, all Captains of the Prætorian Cohorts. *Annius Pollio*, and *Clycius Gallus* were banished, more suspected than convicted; and *Novius Priscus* for being a Friend of *Seneca's*. The two last had their Wives, *Ignatia Maximilla* and *Antonia Flaccilla* to accompany them: At first their Goods remained untouched, but in the Issue were confiscated, which was an Addition to their Glory. *Rufus Crispinus*, who was uneasie to *Nero*, having been the first Husband of *Poppæa*, was banished upon the same Pretence; and with these, *Verginius* and *Musonius*, obnoxious because of their great Reputation, one professing to instruct the Youth in Eloquence, and the other in Philosophy. With these a whole Troop more were banished into the Isles of the *Ægean Sea*, *Cluvdius Quietus*, *Julius Agrippa*, *Blitius Catulinus*, *Petronius Priscus*, and *Julius Alpinus*: But *Cesennius*, *Maximus*,

*lyus*, and *Cadicia* Wife of *Scevinus*, were expelled *Italy*, who never knew they were culpable till they received their Doom. *Atilla*, *Lucanus*'s Mother, remained without Condemnation or Absolution.

70. After all these things were over, *Nero* made an Harangue to the Soldiers of his Guard, and gave to every Man fifty Crowns, with his Corn, which before they were obliged to purchase at the Market-price. Next he assembled the Senate, as intending to give them an account of his Exploits, granting the Triumphal Ornaments to *Petronius Turpilianus*, a Consular-man, to *Cocceius Nerva*, design'd Prætor, and to *Tigellius*, Commander of the Prætorian Cohorts, with the additional Honour to the two last, of erecting their Statues in his Palace, not contenting himself with those he had before set up in the *Forum*, with the triumphal Habit. To *Nymphidius* he bestowed the Consulat, of whom I shall make a slight Digression, on so fair an occasion presenting itself, since this Man's Fortune makes part of the History of our Calamities. His Mother was a Freed-woman, a Retainer to the Court, and who exposed herself to the Emperour's Family. He called himself Son of *Caligula*, resembling him in his Stature and furious Look, which was not difficult to believe, his Mother having been a very fine Woman, and *Caligula* so vicious a Prince.

71. *Nero*, beside his Speech to the Senate, put out a publick Declaration to the People, containing the History of the Plot, the Depositions of the Witnesses, and Confessions of the Criminals, to remove the Calumny of putting so many innocent Persons to Death out of Jealousie or Fear: But all who would be at the Pains of informing themselves of the Truth, discover'd the Beginning, Progress and Issue of this Conspiracy, and, after the Death of *Nero*, those who returned to *Rome*, own'd it publickly. In the mean time the Senators, the greater occasion of Discontent they met with, the  
more

more they studied to exceed in Flattery. Of this *Galio*, *Seneca*'s Brother, was an Instance, who was attacked by *Salienus Clemens*, who rail'd at him as an Enemy of the State, and a Parricide; and was with difficulty perswaded to desist at the Entreaty of the Senate, who admonish'd him not to make ill Use of the publick Misfortune to his private Revenge, but to take heed he did not exasperate and rise the Indignation of the Emperour.

72. After all this, a publick Thanksgiving was appointed, and Oblations to be made to the Gods, and in especial to the Sun, who had discovered that Conspiracy; because the *Circus*, in which was an old Temple dedicated to him, was the Place pitcht on for the Execution of their Design. A Temple was ordered to be erected to *Safety*, in the same place, whence *Scevinus* had taken his Dagger: And the Dagger itself, Dedicated by the Emperour in the Capitol, with this Inscription, To Jupiter the Avenger; which was not at first regarded, but afterwards much observed, when *Vindex* took up Arms against the Emperour, no one then doubting this was a Presage of future Vengeance. I find it written in the Records of the Court, that *Anicius Cerealis*, Consul design'd, was of Opinion a Temple should be erected to *Nero*, at the Charge of the Publick, and Divine Titles conferred on him, to beget in the Minds of the People an Opinion, That he was above the Condition of Mortals, and deserved to be Adored: But this was esteemed as a Presage of his approaching End, it being unusual to bestow these Titles on Emperours till after their Decease.

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T H E  
A N N A L S  
O F  
CORNELIUS TACITUS.

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The Sixteenth Book.

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NOW Fortune began to turn *Nero* into Ridicule, grounding the Occasion of his Vanity upon a Promise of *Cesellius Bassus*: This *Bassus* was an *African*, of a distemper'd Brain; who, possess'd with a Belief of a Dream he had, came to *Rome*; and having purchas'd Access to the Prince, told him, That in his Grounds he had discover'd a very large Cave, in which were hid great Quantities of Gold, not coin'd, but after the antient manner, in a rude Mass; that in one part lay mighty Wedges, in another, huge standing Pillars, which had been so long hid, to increase the Glory of the present Times; for it might easily be guess'd, added he, That *Dido* driven from *Tyrus*, when she built *Carthage*, hid her Riches there, lest her new People might be debauch'd with too much Wealth; or the Kings of *Numidia*;

*dia*, (on other Scores her Enemies,) for the sake of her Gold, be tempted to invade her.

2. Upon which *Nero*, without considering enough the Credit of the Man, or his Business, or sending to know the Truth of the Report, spread the News himself, and order'd Gallies and Vessels, chosen for Dispatch, to bring away the fancy'd Prize. Nor did the Gross of the People, credulous of Wonders, entertain themselves with any thing but different Stories of the late Discovery. It fell out also that the Games exhibited every fifth Year, were then a second time celebrated. The Orators from this, took their chief matter to commend the Prince; that in his Reign the Earth not only produced her usual Fruits, and Gold promiscuously with baser Oar, but laboured with new Plenty; and that the Gods themselves bore Riches to their Coffers. Many other Fancies they contriv'd with great Eloquence, and no less Servile Flattery; secure of an easie Belief.

3. In the mean time, on the strength of these vain Hopes the People grew luxurious, and wasted their old Wealth as if new Stores were already laid up for many Years Extravagance: Presents too were prodigally made, and the Expectance of Riches was one of the Causes of the common Want. *Bassus*, attended not only with the Soldiers, but many Country People whom they employ'd for that Service, dug up a large compass of his Land, affirming this, now that, to be the Place of the promis'd Cave; but at length coming to himself, and wondring his Dreams were never false before, and that that should be the first time he was deceived, through Shame and Fear he kill'd himself. Some report he was imprison'd, and afterwards set at Liberty, and his Estate taken from him to make Amends for the vast Sums spent in this Business.

4. In the mean time the contending fifth Year approaching, the Senate, to take away the Scandal of the late

late Indignity, offer'd the Prince the Victory of Singing; and to Colour the ignoble Sport, added the Crown of Eloquence. But *Nero* in return, told them, He did not want the Interest, or Authority of the Senate to make him an equal Rival; and hoping from the Integrity of the Judge to purchase the Reward of his Merit, began a Song on the Stage: Upon which the People desiring him to publish all his Studies (for so they call'd 'em) he proceeded, strictly observing all the Rules of Harpers; as not to sit down tho' weary, nor wipe his Face but with his Coat, nor delay any occasion of cleaning his Nose and Mouth. When he had done, he kneeled, and paying a Reverence to the People with his Hand, with a dissembled Fear waited the Opinion of his Judges.

5. The ordinary People accusom'd to be pleased even with the Gesture of Actors, in a certain Measure and numerous Applause commended him, seeming much pleas'd; and perhaps were so, as inobservant of any Publick Infamy: But those that came from distant Freed-towns and Parts of *Italy*, where the ancient Severity of his Life was still observ'd, and those that came from remote Provinces in Publick Employments, or on their private Affairs, unus'd to such open Ribaldry, cou'd not bear the Light, nor tell how to behave themselves in the ignoble Toil, but tired with their aukward Applause, they put others out, and were often beat by the Soldiers plac'd in the Pit, to observe that no Minute pass'd with any unjust Praise or dull Silence. Many Knights were trod to Death, who endeavour'd a Passage thro' the pressing Multitude; while others with sitting Day and Night were struck with deadly Sick-ness; Yet their Fears had been greater, had they been absent, many being publicly, and more being privately order'd to observe the Looks, the Gestures, the Joy and Grief of all Assemblies. For the poorer Sort he decreed immediate Punishments; but to the great Ones he

stifled

stified his Resentment for the present, and in a little time took occasion to shew it. Some report, *Vespasian* was accused of Drowsiness, by one *Phæbus* a Freed-man, and with great Difficulty sav'd at the Entreaty of the better Sort; that afterwards he escap'd the impending Mischief by a greater Fate.

6. When the Show ended, *Poppæa* died by a Blow of her Husband, who in a sudden Passion kick'd her, being with Child. Nor do I believe by Poyson, as some Writers more malicious, than sincere, have deliver'd; for he was desirous of Children, and lov'd his Wife. The Body was not burnt after the *Roman* manner, but embalm'd like those of foreign Kings, and laid in the Tomb of the *Julian* Family; yet Publick Solemnities were pay'd at her Death; and *Nero* himself made her Funeral Oration; wherein he commended her Beauty, her being the Mother of so fine a Daughter, and other Gifts of Fortune, as Virtues in her. Her Death was in publick lamented, but to those who hated her for her Cruelty, and loose life, it was very pleasing; and *Nero* made it yet more odious, by denying *C. Cassius* to assist at the Ceremony; which was the first Omen of the Evil that not long after befel him: In the same Fate *Silanus* was involv'd, for no Crime, but that as *Cassius* who was eminent for his ancient Riches and Severity of Life; so *Silanus* was for his Noble Birth and youthful Modesty. *Nero* therefore sent an Oration to the Senate, wherein he declar'd, they ought both to be expell'd the Commonwealth; accusing *Cassius* of paying, among the Statues of his Ancestors, Divine Honours to that of *C. Cassius*, thus inscrib'd, TO THE LEADER OF FACTIONS. That he was contriving a Civil War, and a Revolt from the Family of the *Cæsars*; and thinking to work his Ends, by the Memory only of a Seditious Name, had taken into his Design. *L. Silanus*, a young Man nobly descended, and ambitious, whom he endeavour'd to ingratiate into the Populace, the better to effect a Change.

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7. *Silanus* himself he accused of the same Crimes, he formerly did his Uncle *Torquatus*; for having dispos'd of the Employments of the Empire, and prefer'd his Freed-men to be Officers of the Publick Accounts, Masters of Requests, and Secretaries of State; Imputations as ridiculous as false; for *Silanus* was naturally cautious, and by the Fate of his Uncle frighted to be yet more Circumspect. After this he suborn'd Men, who in the Character of Informers impeach'd *Lepida*, *Cassius's* Wife, and *Silanus's* Aunt, of Incest with her Brother's Son, and Sacrilegious Offerings: *Vulcatius Tullinus*, *Marcellus Cornelius*, Senators, and *Calpurnius Fabatus*, a Roman Knight, were accus'd as Conscious of the Fact; who appealing to *Cæsar*, avoid'd the present Danger, and afterwards escap'd, as shall be after related; the Care of *Nero* being now taken up with greater Villanies.

8. Then by order of the Senate Banishment was decreed to *Cassius* and *Silanus*; and to *Cæsar* the disposing of *Lepida*. *Cassius* convey'd to the Island *Sardinia*, expect'd their further Decrees. *Silanus* remov'd from *Hostia*, under a Pretence of being carried to *Naxos*, was confin'd in *Bareus*, a Freed-town of *Apulia*, where behaving himself very prudently, under so great an Indignity, he was seiz'd by a Centurion sent to destroy him, who advising him to cut his Veins, he replied, That he was prepar'd for Death; but would not let an Executioner have the Glory of the Action. The Centurion perceiving him very strong, tho' unarm'd, and rather angry than frighted, commanded the Soldiers to dispatch him: Nor did *Silanus* refuse to oppose 'em, but strove as much as naked Arms cou'd do, till oppress'd by hostile Wounds he fell in the Battel.

9. Not less willingly did *Lucius Vetus*, *Sexta* his Mother-in-law, and *Pollutia* his Daughter, embrace Death; who were Eye-sores to the Prince; for their Lives seem'd to upbraid him with the Murder of *Rubellius Plantus*,

*Plantus*, Son-in-law to *L. Vetus*: But his Cruelty did not appear till *Fortunatus*, a Freed-man of *Vetus* gave him occasion to shew it, who from robbing his Master proceeded to accuse him, getting *Claudius Demianus* to be a Fellow-informer; whom, for his Villany imprisoned by *Vetus*, then Pro-Consul of *Asia*, *Nero* freed in Reward of his Evidence; which when *Vetus* understood, and that they put him on the same Level with his Freed-man, he withdrew himself to *Formia*, where he remained secretly guarded; his Daughter attended him, whom, besides the present Danger, long Grief had embolden'd from the time she had seen the Murderers of her Husband *Plantus*; she threw her Arms about his wounded Neck, and sav'd the Blood, and preserving the Garments on which it fell, lived a mournful Widow, taking no more Sustenance than wou'd just preserve Life: Then at the Request of her Father she went to *Naples*, where being denied Access to the Prince, she waited his Forth-comings, and sometimes with Womanish Cries, sometimes above her Sex, in a raving manner beseech'd him to hear the Innocent, and not permit formerly his Companions in the Consulship to the Mercy of a Freed-man: At length, finding her Entreaties rather exasperated the Prince, than moved his Pity, she returned to her Father, advising him to lay Hope aside, and make the best of his Fate: Likewise News was brought, that a Tryal in the Senate, and a cruel Sentence was design'd him; upon which many advis'd him to make *Cesar* Heir to the greater part of his Estate, and to bequeath the rest among his Nephews; but he, scorning to stain his Life with any servile Act, spent in a manner free, distributed the Money he had among his Retinue, and order'd each of 'em to bear away for himself what else he cou'd, excepting their Beds, which he desired shou'd be kept for their Funèral Obsequies.

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10. Then in the same Room, with the same Knife, they cut their Veins, and covering themselves, out of Modesty, with loose Garments, were speedily put in a Bath; the Father looking on his Daughter, the Grand-mother on her Niece, she both; each in their Prayers contending for a speedy Death; and each, that the others might survive that little while. Fortune observ'd the order of their Years, and took the Elder first, then the next of Age, till all expired. After Burial, they were accus'd, and Punishments after the ancient manner Decreed 'em, which *Nero* forbid; saying, Death should be the Choice of the Sufferer: Such Sports were still made of the Murder'd.

11. *P. Gallus*, a Roman Knight, because he was an intimate Friend of *Fenius Rufus*, and no Enemy to *Vetus*, was banish'd the City; his Freed-man, and his Accuser, in Reward of the Treachery was honour'd with a Place in the Theater among the Tribune's Beadles. The Months also that follow'd *April*, and the same that took its Name from *Nero*, were chang'd; *May* into *Cladius*, *July* into *Germanicus*; which was confirmed by *Cornelius Drusus*, who said, That *June* was therefore omitted in the Kalendar, because two of the *Torquatus*'s being for Villanies executed in that Month, had made its Name unfortunate to *Rome*.

12. A Year stain'd with so many black Actions, the Gods also made remarkable with Plagues and Tempests; *Campania* was destroy'd by Whirlwinds, which all around beat down Villages, tore up Woods and Corn, and spread its Violence almost to the Gates of *Rome*; whilst all living Creatures were expos'd to the merciless fury of a Pestilence, which rag'd without any manifest Sign of corrupted Air: Houses were fill'd with dead Bodies, and the Streets with Funerals; nor Age nor Sex escaped; both Slaves and Free-men promiscuously perish'd: Parents and Children, while they lamented each others loss, often themselves made up

up the Funeral-pile. Knights and Senators, tho' they indifferently perish'd, were less lamented, having, as it were by a common Fate prevented the Prince's Cruelty.

13. In the same Year Matters were made in *Gallia Narbonensis*, in *Africa* and *Asia*, to recruit the Legions of *Illyria*, of which great Numbers by Age and Sickness were freed from their Obligations of Serving. The Prince, to repair the Losses sustain'd by the *Lugdunians*, sent 'em forty thousand Sesterces, which Sum they had formerly rais'd him in troubled Times.

14. In the Consulship of *C. Suetonius* and *L. Telestinus*, *Antistius Sossianus*, who, as I have said, was banish'd for writing reproachful Verses upon *Nero*, hearing what Honours were confer'd on Informers, and how ready the Prince was to Cruelties, was very restless, and snatching at all Occasions, by a Likeness of Fortune, contracted a Friendship with *Pammenes*, an Exile of the same Place, one famous for his Knowledge in the *Chaldean Art*, and on that Account was supported by many. *Antistius* consider'd that he was not consulted nor sent to for any thing; and knowing also that Money was yearly convey'd to him from *P. Anteius*; nor was he insensible; that *Anteius* for his love of *Agrippina* was hated of *Nero*, and that his Riches, so fatal to others, might tempt the Prince, intercepting therefore *Anteius's* Letters, and stealing the Papers in which were hidden the Day of his Nativity, and future Events, among other Secrets of *Pammenes*; and finding also among 'em Schemes of the Birth and Life of *Ostorius Scapilla*, he wrote to *Nero*, That he wou'd inform him of Matters of great Consequence, and what wou'd conduce to his Safety, if so be he wou'd please to allow him a short Interimission of Banishment; that in gross *Anteius* and *Ostorius* had Designs on the Government, and were busied in the Search of their own, and *Cesar's* Fate. Upon which Gallies were dispatch'd, and *Scapilla*

*Scapilla* speedily brought: and when the News of this Discovery was spread abroad, *Anteius* and *Ostorius* were reckon'd rather among the Condemned than Accus'd: so that no Man wou'd have sign'd *Anteius's* Will if *Telestinus* had not given his Warrant, *Anteius* being before advis'd not to delay the making of it. Upon which he took a poyson'd Draught, and tyr'd with its slow Operation, cut his Veins.

15. *Ostorius* was then in a remote Part of *Italy*, on the Borders of *Liguria*; whither a Centurion was sent to dispatch him: The Occasion of such haste arose from *Nero's* Fears, lest *Ostorius*, so fam'd for his Exploits in War, (who in *Britain* deserv'd a Civick Garland; of mighty Strength of Body, and as great Skill in Arms,) shou'd Invade him: He was ever Timourous, and since the Discovery of the late Conspiracy yet more Fearful. When the Centurion therefore had stop'd all the Avenues of the Village, he shew'd his Orders to *Ostorius*; at which time *Ostorius* turn'd against himself his so oft-try'd Courage against the Foe; and because his open'd Veins yielded but little Blood, using the Hand of his Slave only to hold the Dagger even, he prest his right Hand to him, and met it with his Throat.

16. Had I treated of foreign Wars, or of Lives lost in the Service of the State, with such a Likeness of Accidents, I had tyr'd my self without hopes of pleasing my Readers, who hate a long mournful Story of the Deaths of Citizens, however honourable; but now the Peoples servile Patience, and so much Blood spilt at home, too nearly touches me; nor will there need any Apology to be made to Posterity, except for their dying so tamely: It was the Anger of the Gods against the *Roman State*, which shou'd not be so lightly pass'd over, as the Loss of an Army or Surrender of a Town: Let this be pay'd in the Memory of Illustrious Heroes, That as in their Funeral-solemnities they are differenc'd from the Gros of Men, so in the relating



ting of their Deaths they may have a peculiar Story.

17. Within a few Days *Annaeus Mella*, *Cerealis Anicius*, *Rufus Crispinus*, and *C. Petronius* fell: *Mella* and *Crispinus* were Roman Knights and Senators, the latter was formerly Captain of the Guard and honour'd with the Consular Dignity, and for the late Conspiracy banish'd to *Sardinia*, where receiving the News of his sentenc'd Death, he kill'd himself. *Mella*, the Brother of *Gallio* and *Seneca*, declin'd the Pursuit of Places of Dignity, thro' a whimsical Ambition of making a Roman Knight equal in Power to the Consuls, and also believ'd it a shorter way of raising Money, if the Affairs of the Prince were manag'd by Procurations: He was the Father of *Lucan*, which was no small Reputation to him; who being slain, *Mella* very earnest in the Search of his Wealth, provok'd *Fabius Romanus*, one of *Lucan's* intimate Friends to be his Accuser; who having counterfeited *Lucan's* Hand, contrives a Privacy between the Father and Son of the late Conspiracy; which Letter, when *Nero* had read, coveting his Wealth, he sent to *Mella*; upon which *Mella*, (then the readiest way of dying,) cut his Veins; having writ a Will, in which he bequeathed a large Sum of Money to *Tigellinus*, and his Son-in-law *Cossutius Capito*, to make his other Legacies valid; and annext a Codicil, where as it were, complaining of the Injustice of his Death, he wrote thus: That he really died without Cause, but that *Rufus Crispinus* and *Anicius Cerealis* liv'd the Prince's Enemies; which was suppos'd to be made of *Crispinus*, because he was slain of *Cerealis*, that he might be. For a little after he kill'd himself, less placid than the rest, because he was known formerly to have betray'd a Conspiracy to *C. Caesar*.

18. Of the above mention'd *Petronius* I have a few things more to say: He spent the Day in Sleep, the Night in Business and Pleasures; as Industry other Men, so Sloth had made him Remarkable; he was esteem'd

esteem'd not a Debauchee, and profligate Person, as most that so wast their Fortunes, but of a polite Intemperance; his Words and Actions the freer they were, and the more they betray'd a certain unaffected Easiness, peculiar to him, the more acceptable they were for their seeming Simplicity: Yet when he was made Pro-Consul of *Bithynia*, and afterwards Consul, he behaved himself worthy of his Employments: After which, returning to his Vices, or rather to the Imitation of Vice, he was receiv'd among the few familiar Friends of *Nero*, as the only Judge of Delicacy; for he esteem'd nothing Elegant or Pleasing in his Luxury, but what *Petronius* had first approv'd; whence arose *Tigellinus's* Envy to him, as his Rival, and one more Exquisite in the Taste of Pleasures: *Tigellinus* therefore work'd on this Credulity, which was the predominant Passion of the Prince; and corrupting a Slave to accuse him of a Friendship with *Severinus Petronius*; he hereby took from him all means of Defence, imprisoning the greater part of his Family.

19. *Caesar* hapned at that time to be at *Campania*, and *Petronius* having got as far as *Cuma*, was there retain'd: And tho' from that time he neither fear'd nor hop'd, yet did not rashly dispatch himself; but having cut his Veins, he stop'd as he pleas'd, open'd 'em again, still discoursing with his Friends, not seriously, or to purchase the Glory of Fortitude: He did not entertain himself with Lectures of the Immortality of the Soul, or Disputes of Philosophers, but with light Songs, and easy Verse: Of his Servants he made some free, and punish'd others: he sometimes walk'd abroad, indulging Sleep, that tho' constrain'd it might seem a Casual Death: Nor in his Will, as most Men, did he flatter *Nero*, *Tigellinus*, or any other; but display'd the Prince's Vices under the Names of Women, and State-calumnies, with the strange ways of using either; and sealing it up sent it to *Nero*; but broke the Seal, lest it might afterwards be made use of to the Prejudice of others.

20. Nero wondring how the Secrets of his Nights became known; *Silia*, famous for her Marriage of a Senator, came into his Thoughts, who was privy to all his Lewdness, and very familiar with *Petronius*; upon which he banish'd her, for having, as he thought, betray'd what she had seen and acted; thro' her own peculiar Hatred: But *Numicius Thermus* once Prator, was given up to the secret Malice of *Tigellinus*, because *Thermus's* Freed-man had accus'd him; for which he atton'd in Tortures, and his Patron in undeserv'd Death.

21. So many illustrious Men being slain, Nero at last resolving to stab Virtue itself, dispatch'd *Bareas Soranus*, and *Thraseas Patus*, long an Enemy to both: To *Thraseas* for little Accidents; for leaving the Senate, as I before mention'd, when *Agrippina's* Tryal was before them; for not behaving himself as was expected at the Games exhibited for the Exercise of the Youth, which Nero more highly resent'd, because the same *Thraseas* at *Padua*, where he was born, at the *Cestian Games*, instituted by *Antenor the Trojan*, had sang in a *Tragedian's* Habit; and the very Day that the Prator *Antistius* was condemn'd for Reflections he made upon Nero, he propos'd a milder Punishment, and obtain'd it; and when Divine Honours were decreed *Poppæa*, he purposely withdrew himself to avoid assisting at the Funeral; which *Capito Cossusianus* wou'd not suffer to be forgot, who besides his natural Propensity to do Ill, was an Enemy of *Thraseas*, because he espoused the Quarrel of the *Cilician* Embassadors, who accus'd *Capito* of Bribery, and carried it by his Interest.

22. But *Capito* further objected; that in the beginning of the Year he avoided the usual Oath; and tho' a Priest of *Sibylla*, yet was absent at the Ceremony of making Vows; nor ever sacrific'd to the Safety of Cæsar, or Voice of Heaven; that the once Constant and Diligent *Thraseas*, who us'd to favour or oppose the ordinary Decrees of the Senate, had not enter'd the House these three Years; that lately

when all Men crowded to the Punishments of *Silanus* and *Vetus*, he rather attended the private Affairs of his Clients; which at that time of Day bore a Face of Revolt and Mutiny; and should many dare to do the same, might prove the Occasion of a War: As formerly, said she, the People did C. Cæsar, and M. Cato, so now greedy of Factions, they mention *Nero* and *Thraseas*: He has his Followers too, or rather Life-guard, who not only have put on the Obstinacy of his Speeches, but also his Face and Mein, and with solemn Brows upbraid Cæsar with Luxury: To this Man alone the Life of Cæsar is of no Esteem or Honour: He hates the good Fortune of the Prince; nor is he content with his Distress and Grief. None cou'd deny the Divinity of *Poppæa*, but him that cou'd refuse the Oath, sacred to the Memory of *Julius* and *Augustus*: He makes a Jest of Religion, and vain our Laws: The Journals of Rome, in the Provinces and Army are diligently read, that it may be known what *Thraseas* has not done. Let us either Change for these new Measures, if they be better; or take from the Desirous of Innovations, their Leader and Author: From this Sect spring the *Tubérons* and *Favonians*; Names ungrateful, even to the ancient State: To subvert the Government, they pretend Liberty; if they do overthrow it, Liberty itself will be the next Sacrifice: In vain Nero, have you remov'd *Cassius*, if the Rivals of *Brutus* be suffered to increase and strengthen. To conclude, let not Cæsar give himself the Trouble to write of *Thraseas*, to the Senate, but leave to us the Province of his Accusation.

23. Nero enraged, commended *Capito's* Readiness to serve him, and added to his Assistance *Marcellus Eprinus*, a Man of acute Wit: But *Ostorius Sabinus*, a Roman Knight, accus'd *Bareas Soranus* for his Behaviour in the Pro-Consulship of *Asia*, (where by his Integrity and Diligence, he made the Prince's Crimes appear more odious) for his care in opening the *Ephesian Haven*; and for not revenging the boldness of the City *Pergama*, that would not suffer *Acratus*, Cæsar's Freed-man, to

bring away their Statues, and Pictures: He was also accus'd of a Friendship with *Plautus*, and an Ambition of working a Change in the Provinces. Their Condemnation was allotted, at a time when *Tiridates* came to receive the Kingdom of *Armenia*; that the Rumour of his coming, might prevent from abroad the Notice of Intestine Ills, or to boast of the Greatness of an Emperor, in the Royal Slaughter, as it were, of illustrious Men.

24. When the whole City went out to receive and view the Prince, *Thraseas*, tho' deny'd that Privilege, was not discourag'd, but writing to *Nero*, demanded his Charge, affirming to clear himself, if he might know his Accusation, and have leave to make his Defence: *Nero* very eagerly receives the Letter, hoping *Thraseas* through Fear, had written somewhat to raise the Honour of the Prince, and Debase his own: But when he found it otherwise, and fearing the Looks, the Courage and Assurance of the Innocent, he order'd a Senate to be call'd: Upon which, *Thraseas* advis'd with his Friends, whether he shou'd make or slight a Defence; but different Opinions were offer'd.

25. Those that were for his appearing in the Senate, told him, They were secure of his Constancy; that he wou'd utter nothing but what wou'd advance his Glory; that slothful Men lik'd to die in Corners: But if the People saw a Man meet Death, if the Senate heard him speak, like some God above Humanity, even *Nero* himself might be mov'd at the very Miracle: That if he persisted in his Cruelty, yet Posterity wou'd distinguish the Memory of a noble Death, from the cowardly Sloth of those who dy'd in Silence.

26. On the other side, those that advis'd to expect the Event at home, said the same of this very *Thraseas*: That he wou'd meet with Affronts, and become their Sport; that he shou'd withdraw his Ears from Reproach and Infamy; That not only *Cossutianus* and *Eprius* were prepar'd for Villanies

lanies against him, but there might be some that by want of Humanity, wou'd not scruple Blows, which Example even good Men through fear wou'd follow; That he shou'd take from the Senate, of which he had been so great an Ornament, the Infamy of so base an Action, and leave it doubtful what they might have determin'd, had they seen *Thraseas*: That 'twas a Vanity to think *Nero* wou'd come to a Sense of his Crimes; That his Rage might discharge itself on his Wife, his Family, and all that was dear to him was rather to be fear'd: That therefore as in his Life he had imitated the Examples of worthy Men, he should Crown his Death with equal Glory.

27. There was among 'em *Rusticus Arulenus*, an hot young Man, who thro' an Ambition of Fame, offer'd to dispute the Judgment of the Senate, (which he might as Tribune of the People) but *Thraseas* allay'd his heat, telling him, he undertook what wou'd prove fruitless and unprofitable to the Accused, and destructive to the Undertaker; That for Himself he had finished his Life, and wou'd not then quit the Rule he had observ'd so many Years; but that He had just enter'd into Places of Dignity, and had the whole Maze of Business to pass over; That he should long ago have consider'd with himself what Measures he shou'd take in such Disorders of the State. But whether it were becoming his Character to go to the Senate, he left to his own Decision.

28. The next Day, two Troops of Guards were posted round the Temple of *Venus*, and a Crowd of Serjeants stood with drawn Swords at the entry of the Senate's House, and Soldiers were drawn up in the Forum and Court-walks, through whose stern Looks and Threatnings the Senate passed to the House; where *Nero's* Oration was spoke by his *Quaestor*, in which, without naming any, he reprimanded the Senate, for neglecting their Care of the Publick; That their Example had debauch'd the Roman Knights to Slothfulness; That it was no Wonder they came not from distant Provinces for Honours there,

there, when many that had acquired the Dignities of Consuls and Priests, made their Gardens more worthy their Care.

29. Which as a Dart the Accusers snatching, us'd against *Thraseas*; and *Cossutianus* beginning, *Marcellus* with greater vehemence cry'd out, That the whole Commonwealth was concern'd; That the Stubborness of Inferiours had made their Ruler less mild: That the Senate had been too gentle, in bearing so long with revolted *Thraseas*; with his Son-in-law *Helvidius Priscus*, possess'd with the same Madness; with *Paconius Agrippinus* also, the true Heir of his Father's Hatred to the Prince, and with *Curtius Montanus*'s detested Verses; too long had they suffer'd their Scoffs to go unpunish'd: That *Thraseas* wou'd again try to be a Consul in the Senate, to be a Priest in the Temple, and in the Oath a Citizen, if to the Laws and Ceremonies of our Ancestors, he had not appear'd an open Enemy and Traitor: But, added he, let *Thraseas* come, who is us'd to play the Senator, and protect the Abusers of the Prince; let him discover what Alterations and Changes he would have; they would easier endure to bear him complain of Particulars, than now to have him silently condemn All: Does the Universal Peace of the World, or Victories without Blood displease him? Let not the Senate make him Master of his deprav'd Appetite, who is troubled at the Publick Good, who esteems the Forums, the Theatres and Temples so many places of Solitude; who threatens his own Exile: Nor do these Decrees of Senate nor Magistracy, or Rome, seem so to him. He should withdraw himself from that City whose Love formerly, and now whose very Sight he had put off.

30. When *Marcellus* after this and the like manner had delivered himself; as he was naturally of a stern and terrible Countenance, so now his Voice, his Mein and Eyes spoke Rage; nor did the Senate wear that known, and by the frequency of Dangers, usual Sorrow, but greater Fears, viewing the Soldiers armed and with drawn Swords: Also they cou'd not but reflect

reflect on the venerable Person of *Thraseas*; and some of 'em pitied *Helvidius*, who was to atone for his harmless Affinity: Against *Agrippinus* nothing was objected but the unhappy Fortune of his Father; when even he also fell guiltless by the Cruelty of *Tiberius*. *Montanus*, a young Man of great Integrity, was banish'd for shewing his Wit, tho' in no infamous Verses.

31. In the mean time *Ostorius Sabinus*, *Sorannus*'s Accuser, came in, and began his Charge with his Friendship with *Rubellius Plantus*; and that his Cares in the Pro-consulship, were rather for his own popular Renown in fomenting the Factions of the City, than for the Publick Good. These were old; but of late he joyned the Daughter to the Father's Dangers, accusing her of Money given to the Magicians. It was indeed the effect of Piety in *Servilia*, (for so the young Lady was call'd) who thro' the Love of her Father, and Imprudence of Youth consulted 'em: Tho' she enquired after nothing but the Safety of their Family; whether *Nero* was Reconcilable; and whether a Tryal in the Senate wou'd bring no Evil to the Accused: She therefore is brought into the Senate, and both stood Facing each other, before the Consuls Tribunal: The Father a very aged Man; the Daughter under twenty, a Widow, and desolate, her Husband lately forc'd from her to Banishment; She turn'd aside her Eyes, not able to bear the sight of her Father, whose Dangers she seem'd to have made more Fatal.

32. Their Accuser then asking her, Whether she had sold her Wedding-cloaths, or taken the Jewel from her Neck to raise Money for the detested Rites of Witchcraft? She threw her self prostrate on the Ground, long in Tears and Silence; then having embrac'd the Altars of Celestial and Terrestrial Gods: I have invoc'd said she, no impious Deity, pay'd no Devotions, nor us'd my unhappy Prayers for any thing but that you, O Cæsar, and you Fathers, wou'd preserve the Life of this best of Parents: So have

*I bestowed my Jewels, my Habit, and Ornaments of Greatness, as I wou'd my Blood and Life, had they requir'd it: Let them, unknown to me before, answer for the Names they bear, and Arre they practise: I made no mention of the Prince; except among the Gods; but my unhappy Father knew nothing of it, and if it be a Crime, I only am guilty.*

33. She was going on, when *Soranus* interrupting her, cry'd out, That she was not with him in the Province; that she was too young for *Plantus's* notice; and no Accomplice in the Crimes of her Husband; that she was guilty only of too much Piety; and whatever Fortune they intended him, that she might not incur the same Sentence. Upon which, offering to meet the Embraces of his Daughter, the Lictors interposing stop'd 'em.

34. A little after the Witnesses were heard; and as the Cruelty of the Accusation had mov'd their Compassion, so *P. Egnatius* a Witness, as much rais'd their Indignation: This *Egnatius* was one of *Soranus's* Clients, and being hir'd to oppress his Friend, had put on the awful Brow of a Stoick, and in his Mein and Habit wore an Air of honest Labours; but under these a faithless Mind, fraught with Lust and Avarice; which after Money had discovered, serv'd to let us know, that the open Villain was not more to be fear'd, than he that puts on the Air and Colour of a virtuous Life.

35. But the same Day gave us the honourable Example of *Cassius Asclepiodorus*, for Riches the Chief of *Bithynia*; who with the same Friendships he pay'd *Soranus's* rising Fortune, pursu'd his declining State; for which his whole Estate was seiz'd, and himself banish'd. Thus Providence gives us equally Examples of Good and Ill.

36. *Thraseas*, *Soranus* and *Servilia*, had given 'em the liberty of choosing their Deaths: To be banish'd *Italy* was decreed: *Helvidius* and *Paconius Montanus's* Father got off; but with this proviso, That he shou'd never bear Offices in the State. To the Accusers *Eprinus* and *Cossutius*

ANUS

*anus* were given fifty thousand Sesterces each; to *Ostorius* twelve Thousand, besides the Dignity of a *Quaestor*.

37. Now the Day almost spent, a *Quaestor* is sent from the Consuls to *Thraseas*: He was in his Garden, and resorted to by Nobles of both Sexes, and attentively listening to *Demetrius* the Cynick Philosopher, of whom, as might be gueft from the Intention of his Looks and Words overheard, he was inquiring into the Nature of the Soul, and its Separation from the Body; till *Domitius Cecilianus*, his intimate Friend, brought him the News of the Senate's Resolution. Upon which all that were about him were full of Tears and Complaints, but *Thraseas* desired 'em speedily to withdraw, lest the company of a condemn'd Man might prove an evil Consequence; and advis'd his Wife *Arria*, who was endeavouring, in Imitation of her Mother, to die with her Husband, to preserve her Life; and not take from their Daughter her only Comfort.

38. Then he went into his Gallery, where the *Quaestor* found him rather pleas'd than sad; having heard that his Son-in-law *Helvidius*, was only to be banish'd *Italy*; and receiving the Senate's Orders from the *Quaestor*, he led *Helvidius* and *Demetrius* into his Chamber; and extending his bare Arms, after he had open'd the Veins of both, and sprinkled the Floor with his Blood, calling to the *Quaestor*, *Let us sacrifice*, said he, to Jupiter the Deliverer: *View me young Man, and may the Gods avert the Omen: But thou art born in an Age, that it may be necessary to establish thy Mind with Examples of Fortitude: Upon which, the slow Effusion of his Blood was attended with great Pains, when turning his Eyes to Demetrius —*

The End of the Second Volume.

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